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THE EVOLUTION OF CULTURE

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Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo
sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.

1. Prehistory may not confirm the belief of mankind in the Golden Age, but psycho-analysts will understand it as representing the happy period of our life when we could enjoy ourselves without anxiety or compulsion. Still, we suspect that in addition to the ontogenetic truth embodied in this explanation there may be something in phylogenesis in the infancy of mankind that corresponds with this myth. Perhaps the anthropologist is also actuated by such hidden motives in searching for the Isles of the Blessed somewhere in the Pacific.

Well, we must ask, what is primitive man like? How can we characterize the living representatives of so-called primitive civilizations? If we reconsider this question we find that it really amounts to the same thing as if we were to ask, what is civilized man like? If psycho-analysis can characterize the normal, the neurotic, the psychotic or the anti-social it must also be able to explain psychologically what is meant by primitive man.

2. It is nearly twenty years ago that I was discussing the question of the psychological unity of mankind with Ferenczi and Rank.[1] I had begun analysis with Ferenczi a short time before, and my know-

[1] The first two-thirds of this paper were published in Hungarian in the memorial volume of the Hungarian Psycho-analytical Society in honour of Sándor Ferenczi.

ledge of the subject was more theoretical than otherwise. I stood my ground, representing the classical evolutionary school of anthropology, and I held the view that human beings were essentially the same whatever race, class or civilization they might belong to. Psycho-analysis, I thought, had only confirmed what Tylor, Bastian and Frazer had taught us : *homo sum et humani nil a me alienum puto.* On the other hand, Ferenczi and Rank were of the opinion that popular belief and the experience of everyday life meant something, and that therefore there is evidently a quality that characterizes the mental make-up of the French as being different from the English, of the European as different from the American and Asiatic, and so on. It may not be science, but it is intuition. My answer was, give me a single instance of a myth or a custom in which psycho-analysis will find anything but universally human tendencies. This argument proved unanswerable, but nevertheless it was far from being conclusive.

3. Where shall we look for these differences ? Not in our instinctual life, but in our ideals ; not in the id, but in the analysis of the super-ego. It is instructive, therefore, to compare the varieties of what I have called the group-ideal.[2]

Let us take as our first instance the people of Manus so excellently described by Margaret Mead. A stone age people in a minute tropical Venice yet with ideals so similar to those of modern civilization. Work, property, business probity are the main virtues ; undischarged debts or other economic obligations the worst things in life.[3] The skulls of the dead are kept in the house and in his everyday work man is assisted by his father's spirit. But in return the spirits demand the exercise of certain restraints and virtues. Sexual offences, light words, careless jests and economic laxity bring down the wrath of the spirits either on the offender or on one of his relatives.[4] But there is a certain tendency towards specialization in spirit life. Spirits of those who died when they were young kill the young : adulterous spirits kill those who commit adultery. That is, they punish the sins they have themselves committed.[5] Society takes only one thing seriously and that is *kawas* (barter, trade, exchange = Trobriand *kula*) and this is the main difference between children and adults. Children

[2] Cf. ' Super-Ego and Group-Ideal ', this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, 1932, p. 175.

[3] M. Mead : *Growing up in New Guinea,* 1930, p. 9.

[4] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[5] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

have nothing to do with *kawas*.[6] When a man speaks of his wife he mentions the size of the betrothal payment that was made for her; when he speaks of his sister he says: 'I give her sago and she gives me beadwork'. The whole of life, his most intimate relation to people, his conception of places, his evaluation of his guarding spirits, all fall under the head of *kawas* (exchange).[7] Small children have been made ashamed of their bodies, ashamed of excretion.[8] A girl has been taught that it is a shameful thing to think of her husband personally, but it is the proper thing for her to think of the dog's teeth or of the shell money which has been paid for her betrothal feast.[9] The conventional attitude is that a wife and a husband do not love each other and a man spends a large part of his time with his sister. Here we have the fission in love life, well known to clinical analysts. A man has intercourse with his wife, loves his sister and flirts with his cross-cousin.[10] The cross-cousin is the proper partner for all sorts of erotic games, but not for coitus; and the male cross-cousin is the orthodox partner in the exchange (*kawas*). In their educational system we can see how this libidinal fission takes place.

Children must learn privacy in excretion almost by the time they can walk. This is not impressed upon them by punishments, but by the lively feelings of shame and repugnance betrayed by their adult environment. It is easy to see how this reaction leads to or reinforces the fission between tender and libidinal strivings. The fission corresponds with the duality of exo- and endogamy, reserving the tender emotions for the family circle while coitus is 'shameful' and therefore to be performed with a stranger. The cross-cousin is the dividing line between the two spheres and hence fore-pleasure remains bound up with the female cross-cousin, and the sublimation of anal pleasures, *kawas* (barter), with the male. The general trend is to withdraw all cathexis from the genital to the anal organization, to substitute property for love. But the whole process cannot be very old; it is not deeply introjected into the personality. The men talk of a Golden Age, a bygone period in which the spirits did not punish sexual offences and everybody could do pretty much as he pleased.

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[6] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 86, 92.

[7] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[8] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[9] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[10] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 166, 299.

But this Golden Age is not projected into the dim past ; it is said to have prevailed in the time of the previous generation.[11] The fathers could do what they liked, but they will not let the sons follow their example. Sexuality is not a sin and property not a virtue *per se*, but only because this is the incomprehensible whim of the spirits. The super-ego introjected into the personality as the duplicate of the father imago is still a *corpus alienum* in the personality, and this is represented functionally by the projection of these psychical tendencies into the world of spirits.

4. I spent the year 1930 in Duau (Normanby Island), one of the three large islands that form the d'Entrecasteaux group. The group-ideal of Duau is the *to-kune*, the man who gives or receives presents, or who is prominent in the *kune*, the inter-island circulation of strings of shells (*bagi*) and of white arm shells (*mwari*) which corresponds with the *kawas* of Manus. A good girl desires marriage with an *esa-esa*, a rich or famous man. When we gave the women some sweets Doketa would say : ' You are a real *esa-esa*. There is nobody like you among the whites '. I objected, saying that Mr. Smith, a white trader whom he knew, was certainly much more of an *esa-esa* than I was. Oh no, Doketa said, for only somebody who like myself is always distributing things to men, women and children alike is a real *esa-esa*.

The difference between Manus and Duau is that in Manus the whole system is more rigid, more like trade or barter, while in Duau stress is laid on the gift aspect, on the attitude of the giver as a man who is only bent on making others happy.

Kune in Duau is not only the circulation of neck strings (shell-money) but also the present, the share received by each guest at the *sagari*. A *sagari* is a feast, or rather the distribution of yams, and therefore closely connected with agriculture. The *esa-esa* is not only the leader of the *kune* exploits, but the owner of the land. We are here in a typically matrilineal society based on the unconscious identification of the boy with his mother. In its institutionalized form this identification consists in the distributive function of the male as a nourishing mother. From the ego point of view this formula means more work and more food, from that of the ego-ideal it involves social prestige. As compared with the system of the people of Manus it implies a stronger genital element in character formation, for in the ritual of the garden there is not only identification with but also the

[11] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

fertilization of the Earth Mother. What is really repressed here is the aggressive component of male sexuality represented in society by the black magic of the *barau*. Being a *barau* is the worst crime, and it is a terrible thing to accuse anybody in public of being guilty of such practices. Yet, such is the fundamental hypocrisy of mankind, at the same time it is generally known that any person of social eminence, anybody who has a big garden or who gives a big feast, must be a *barau*. His very existence proves it. The *sagari*, therefore, really looks like a veiled manic outbreak, a condensation of sublimated wish-fulfilments of all kinds. The general trend in the formation of this group-ideal is regressive from the genital to the pregenital (oral and anal) position.

5. All this is not so very different from Europe. Property is praiseworthy, love is anti-social. We are still in the Victorian ideology or something similar; we are still considering societies that are kept in balance by a regression of the genital to the anal organization, and by a superstructure built upon the latter either as a reaction formation or as a sublimation. But if we go to Central Australia we are truly in a world that differs from our own. Our eternal search for happiness assumes a different form. Nobody accumulates riches; there is nothing to distribute.[12] Men masturbate in a group, both in ordinary life and in ritual. In ritual the official aim of the masturbation is to get blood from the erected penis and to use this blood as a glue for the decoration of others. In ordinary life the 'ritual' of this group masturbation demands that everybody should talk about the size of the other man's penis. 'Yours is as big as a *muruntu* (mythical dragon)', one man says. The other replies: 'Mine is small but yours is as big as a gum tree!' The phallic phase of development with stress laid on the male genital and with the exclusion of women is the basis of society. The group-ideal is the old man, the keeper of the *tjurunga* (phallus), the leading actor of the ceremony (primal scene), the repository of traditional knowledge. One of the folk etymologies renders Malpunga (the phallic hero) as the one who knows the song very well. The memory of an Aranda old man is really remarkable. For about four months old Jirramba would have a new song or myth to tell nearly every day, and it was generally believed that if I had made a start

[12] A kangaroo is divided when it is brought in, but this cannot be compared to the elaborate piling up and distribution of food in the Papuan feast.

with Tnyetika, the leader of ceremonies of the Aranda *taka*, I should have had nothing to do but write what he sang for a whole year. The phallic hero as owner of the song, the importance of singing and of food magic in the phallic ritual, seem to indicate the phallic-oral orientation in the unconscious, that is, the specific attitude in which the boy identifies his own penis with the mother's nipple and carries over the aggression mobilized by oral frustration to the genital act.[13] 'Unta ilkukabaka' in Aranda (have you eaten?), when pronounced with a certain accentuation, means: have you had intercourse? An immature girl is 'raw', a nubile female 'cooked'; while *mbanja* (marriage) really means rape. Ego-syntonic activities are based on phallic (spear as phallic symbol), oral and aggressive (hunting) tendencies, and not on anal functions.

6. Up to a certain degree, that is, from the point of view of ego-development, we can also characterize Samoan culture. Being pre-eminent in anything, knowing more about anything than others, are about the worst possible offences in Samoan society. A girl who is coming of age helps with the plantation work and cooking, or she weaves a little on her fine mat. But she thrusts virtuosity away from her as she thrusts away every other sort of responsibility with the invariable comment, 'I am but young'.[14] A boy is taught fishing prowess, skill in house-building, and other useful accomplishments, but it is always important that he should not be too efficient, too outstanding, too precocious.[15] Girls of sixteen or seventeen will intersperse their remarks every minute by saying 'keep still', 'stop that noise', uttered quite mechanically, although none of the little ones are making a noise. The little nurses are afraid of crying children and a child can compel them to nearly anything by making a noise. If a child is dissatisfied with its parents it can always walk out of the 'house' and go to one of the relatives. Few children live continuously in one household, but are always testing other possible residences.[16] Parents are kept in check by this powerful weapon in the hands of the child. The brother-sister and the group relations are emphasized at the expense of the parent-child relation, and the result is a personality built up rather on the *Kollektivschema* (Hermann) than on the

[13] Ernest Jones: 'The Phallic Phase,' this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, 1933, p. 10.

[14] M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928, p. 33.

[15] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[16] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

super-ego. The chief offence against the sexual code, and therefore the most desirable form of amorous adventure, is the *moetotolo* or 'sleep crawling', when somebody obtains the favours of a girl who is waiting for another man but is too ashamed to raise an outcry.[17] Identification and not the super-ego is here the basis of society, and also the outstanding feature in the typical form of adventurous love.

7. The Yuma Indians (Kuccan) with whom I spent two months in 1931 are extremely shy and taciturn people. A short time before my arrival a group of Blackfeet had been touring among the various Indian tribes displaying their traditional dances. Wherever they went they had great success, and at the end the audience always joined in the performance. The Kuccan just sat and glared at them without saying a word. They were quite as pleased with the dance as anybody else, but they were ashamed to show off. They would just sit and sit in my room without saying a word. It needed a lot of coaxing to induce them to launch into a story or a song.

What is the origin of this type of behaviour? If we can find another typical Kuccan feature and correlate the latter with some specific feature in the ontogenesis of the Kuccan, we may be able to solve the riddle. The reason why I chose to work with the Kuccan was that they are the people of dreams. Everything they do, and especially their choice of a vocation, must be determined by a dream. Only a person who has received the gift in a dream can be a good horseman, warrior, medicine-man or hunter. The analysis of these dreams shews that the spirit who appears in the dream and does something is the father, and that the performance itself, afterwards imitated by the dreamer, is coitus. In other words, the latent content of these life-dreams is the primal scene. Information given by one of the old women throws some light on the connection between the primal scene and character-formation. If somebody is skilful or clever in any way, they say he probably kept his eyes open when his parents had intercourse. The medicine-man who has witnessed this sight and can therefore see the spirit world and imitate their doings is the group-ideal of the Kuccan. Their personality and culture are based on the repression of the emotions that were originally involved in the infantile situation.

8. All this shews a picture of many colours. Ruth Benedict is probably right in declaring that all possible lines of individual human

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[17] M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

behaviour have been exalted in some society into typical group behaviour.[18] It would appear, therefore, that our attempt to arrive at a moderately uniform description of what is primitive as distinguished from what we should call civilized or neurotic must be regarded as futile. However, on second consideration we can discover at least one uniform feature : the very existence of a certain uniformity within the limits of one social group. In clinical analysis we see how people choose a certain path in life, how their pursuits, professions and character are determined by their infancy. In a primitive tribe there is more unity in the picture, unity in the group-ideal. It is therefore probable that in a primitive society there is more unity in the infantile situation, that the relation of the parents to their children is more closely determined by social patterns than it is in civilized life. Therefore psycho-analysis when applied to the study of primitive man cannot be a merely individualistic method, but must be combined with the analysis of custom and ritual. Custom looms forth more conspicuously in the life of the individual, and the individual is less far removed from the originators of these customary elements than in a complex civilized society.

9. We can now raise a question that must be of crucial importance in an attempted psychology of primitive mankind. What is the structure of the super-ego in a really primitive community ? What are its component libidinal elements, what kind of libido has been deflected into the aim-inhibited tendencies of the super-ego ? What is the intensity of the super-ego : is it lenient or severe, are the tendencies of self-punishment implacable or mild, sudden and abrupt or less perceptible but of greater depth ? And, finally, what is the area of the super-ego, what ego and id trends come under its sway, and which tendencies still remain at the free disposal of the ego and the id ? We shall see that the solution of the first problem really contains the answer to the second and third questions.

There are two different opinions regarding the origin, date and formation of the super-ego. On the one hand we have the original formula put forward by Freud and accepted by the majority of psycho-analysts. First we have the fully developed Œdipus complex with castration and repression, and then the latency period and the development of the super-ego. On the other hand Melanie Klein, and in

[18] Benedict : ' Psychological Types in the Culture of the South-West '. *Proc.* XXIII. *International Congress of S. Americanists.*

general the English psycho-analysts, are inclined to use the term 'super-ego' for much earlier phenomena. According to this latter view the child lives in an unreal world full of imaginary dangerous beings, and the origin of this phantasy system must be sought for, not only in actual experience in the ontogenetic development of the child, but essentially in the congenital aggressivity of the infant. According to this view the even temporary loss of the nipple activates the tendency to penetrate into the mother, to take possession of, and destroy, her body. The child in search of the nipple desires to penetrate into the mother, but it identifies the nipple with its own pleasure-giving organ, the penis, and *via* the primal scene also with the father's penis. The dreaded retribution is the reverse side of this phantasy. The dreaded demons or giants are the parents who tear the child's body into two pieces, retribution for the phantasy provoked by the primal scene, or destroy it from the inside, because it is the child who wishes to tear out the contents of the mother's body—i.e. the father's penis, the embryo, milk or fæces. All this corresponds exactly to the phantasy system of Australian demonology. In some respects these theories have been foreshadowed by Ferenczi when he speaks of a displacement of an oral aggression to the phallic zone,[19] for the situation described by Melanie Klein is based on a fusion or rather a lack of defusion of oral-destructive and phallic trends. As I have been trying to shew, the 'religion' or phantasy system of demon and medicine-man is a precursor of the totemistic or *tjurunga* cult and mythology. The culture-heroes of the *tjurunga* religion are the phallic wild-cat ancestors, frequently mentioned in myth as the associates of the demons. Just as the demon-lore is typified by the dogs stuck together in copulation, the mythical origin of the *tjurunga* cult is that of two *tjurungas* bound together, one of them being male and the other female. If we use the terminology of Melanie Klein we might say that the devils represent the destructive penis (something that penetrates into the body, eats the body from the inside), the *tjurunga* the good penis (or the nourishing mammæ), by the aid of which it is possible to multiply food-giving animals.

However, there is another difference between the two phantasy systems. In the demon and medicine-man religion the ego deals with the id impulses, and their reversed super-ego forms, by using primitive expulsive (nankara stone), projective (demons) or incorporating (stone

[19] S. Ferenczi: *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*, 1922.

in the body) mechanisms. The medicine-man projects a destructive or a restitutive nankara stone from his own body into the body of his victim or patient. The agent of disease is therefore the paternal penis in one's own body as a retribution form of the original phantasy-aggression directed against the body of the mother. There are innumerable forms of transition between the magical weapon of disease and healing and the demon ; that is, between the part-object and the anxiety representative of the sadistic parental imago. In the *tjurunga* doctrine the element of identification is more prominent, since the *tjurunga* received by the boy after his circumcision represents the ancestor, the supernatural father, but also a second ' body ' (*tjurunga mborka*), a supernatural double or super-ego. From the phallic-destructive and part-object phase we have now passed to the fully developed Œdipus phase with castration symbolism and super-ego formation. Whereas in the demon-lore we have only anxiety and no ' ethical ' elements, repressions of this type are conspicuous in the*tjurunga* cult. We have here the ' dogmatic ' negation of natural procreation : children emanate from the *tjurunga* and not from the father. With the *tjurunga* food prohibitions, castration symbolism and specific prohibitions connected with the *tjurunga* (absence of females, obsessional ritual) are introduced into the life of the individual. But the super-ego as materialized or embodied in the *tjurunga* is of a fierce and destructive type. Women who witness the ceremony are killed, and for men both the introduction to the ceremony and the ceremony itself are connected with severe bodily pain. But the cult is not regulative, it exercises very little influence on everyday life, and there are no ethical ideals, gods who represent moral perfection, or fathers who were never subject to the vices of their sons.[20]

The demons and medicine-men represent a phantasy-system that must be much older than the present-day aboriginal. They stand for primeval mankind while the *tjurunga* cult characterizes the native of Central Australia as we find him to-day. It is worth while to quote the dreams of a patient, a middle-aged woman, as they shew both a remarkable analogy to the two Central Australian cult-systems and an important difference. The dreams in question are as follows : ' I am talking to my lawyer, but he does not understand me. Then I am talking to you and I say : this is the girl and this the boy—shewing

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[20] Cp. for the details of demon-lore and *tjurunga* beliefs my *Riddle of the Sphinx*, 1934.

my thumb and a finger as I do so '. ' This is the girl and this the boy ' reminds her of a game. A servant shewed her something of the kind ; it consisted in making the shadows of the fingers appear on the wall. The associations to this sentence point to coitus, onanism or mutual masturbation and to the primal scene. Next day she corrects her statement and says that what she had given as dream-text the day before was only a waking association which replaced a forgotten dream-element. What she had really said in the dream was ' this is the ego and this the super-ego '.[21] In this version the ego corresponds to the girl and the super-ego to the boy. She talks about herself ; in many ways she is like her father. Then she remembers an old dream in which a servant girl has stolen her father's pants and a policeman has come to investigate the case. The policeman is standing on the third floor, but he has a long strap and at the end of the strap a dog, and the strap reaches right down to the street. The policeman is the father as super-ego, strap and dog are penis symbols. The servant-girl episode represents the nuclear problem in its original shape on the id-level : the girl steals (desires) the father's penis. But it is also the father as policeman who will punish her for this desire. The similarity with our Australian data lies in the symbolism of the two fingers. Two dogs, two *tjurungas* or two fingers meaning the primal scene, father and mother, to be dealt with by projection (dogs) or introjection (super-ego formation). In the case taken from civilization the introjective process has gone much further : an attempt has been made to deal with the Œdipus situation by character-transformation. The formula ' I am like the father ' has replaced the original one, i.e. ' I love the father '.

European civilization looks at primitive man from two opposite angles. On the one hand we have romanticism with Rousseau and the theory of the Golden Age, the yearning for the freedom that was. On the other hand there is classical evolutionism with its optimistic doctrine of progress. In psycho-analysis this second view is represented particularly by Laforgue. According to him primitive man has an extremely severe super-ego, is a being full of anxiety taboos and inhibitions. In fact he goes so far as to affirm that ' savages ' are relatively impotent.[22] The trouble is that Laforgue's conclusions

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[21] She was familiar with analytical literature before she came to be analysed.

[22] R. Laforgue : *Libido, Angst und Zivilisation,* 1932.

are based on books. Anthropological books describe things that interest the anthropologist. They give an account of taboos and demons and witchcraft, but from books alone one cannot form an estimate of the quantitative importance of these things in everyday life. As a matter of fact, a native is much less interested in these things than an anthropologist. Life is food and women and quarrels, not mystery and reverence. It is correct to say that primitives have a ' severe ' super-ego if we mean by this the quantity of aggressivity piled up in the super-ego. Women who break the taboo by prying into the ceremonies are killed, and the castration complex takes the form of severe genital mutilations. The super-ego is aggressive but not too deeply introjected. The materialization of the super-ego in the *tjurunga,* an object that is stored away in the sacred caves, is a functional symbol of its exogenous origin. Breaking the food taboos is punished by the magic of the old men, not by an automatically functioning evil magic inherent in the food. If the food were simply grabbed by the stronger men and kept for themselves we should be nearer to the dominance system of the anthropoid apes,[23] or if the breakers of the law were troubled by their conscience this would be civilized society. In primitive society the super-ego is phallic, oral and eruptive : that is suddenly and vehemently aggressive. But it is not severe from a characterological point of view : that is, it does not keep a permanent and rigid watch on human behaviour in such a manner as to endanger ego-strivings, to make life more difficult. Both the dynamic quality or cathexis and the scope of the super-ego depend on the specific component impulses that have undergone sublimation. In Central Australia anal and urethral impulses are nearly completely free, not frustrated nor sublimated into the service of the ego or super-ego.[24] There is no ' sphincter-morality '.

10. The supernatural beings of an Australian society are not ' good ', i.e. they are not ethically superior, not better than mankind. This is in direct opposition to everything that Father Schmidt believes about Australian ' High Gods '. The ' ethical ' or non-ethical nature of these supernatural beings can be estimated only through personal experience in the field. If a supernatural being is qualified as ' good ' in Howitt or a book of a similar kind it remains very doubtful what

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[23] Cp. S. Zuckerman : *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes,* 1932.

[24] The urethral impulse contributes a certain share to character formation.

the word means in the original language. Thus, for instance, the Aranda *mara* or Luritja *indota* should be explained in English by three words: good, beautiful, normal. A folk-tale hero, like the Sky Being himself, is always good in this sense, but this does not mean good deeds or good will, only normality. It is the opposite of the monstrous of anxiety. Whatever or whoever is not *mara* (normal) is an *erintja* (devil). Man can be happy here because he does not try to be too good. In Central Australia human beings are all 'good', because the destructive impulses are projected into the world of demons. Civilization with its unattainably good supernatural beings means endopsychical conflict.

If we compare the life of primitive mankind with the representatives of civilization as known to us in clinical analysis, we immediately notice that in primitive conditions a whole group of well-known phenomena are conspicuous by their absence. Although sadistic and masochistic tendencies form a part of primitive life, sadistic or masochistic perversions are completely absent; that is, we do not find that coitus or sexual pleasure is connected with punishment and suffering, or, more exactly, with imaginary punishment and imaginary suffering. The importance of the fact that these perversions are characteristic of civilization but absent in savagery will be evident if we consider their origin and meaning. Besides the fundamental fusion of genital and aggressive strivings their real significance is to be sought for in the severity of the super-ego which refuses to tolerate the sexual act except with the punishments endured in infancy. The masochist is playing the part of the punished child; the sadist does to others what has been done to him. Or else the sadist identifies himself with the super-ego, the masochist with the ego, in endopsychical conflict. Primitive children are not punished for most things for which civilized children suffer, hence the absence of these perversions among primitive adults. Romantic love, which invests the love object with all the qualities of the super-ego and in which the ego feels guilty because of its erotic strivings directed towards the revived Œdipus objects, is unknown to primitive mankind. A love-sick swain who refuses to eat and sits moaning in the moonlight, raving about his pure goddess and the sinfulness of his own desires, chivalry and the 'Minnesänger'—such things would seem ridiculous in the light spread by the camp-fires of the Pitchentara. Women are not won by sighs, but by a strong arm and a few well-directed blows. Also among real primitives unhappy marriages are unknown. There are men who have had enough of

their wives and so bring in a younger woman, and there are women who run away from their husbands, but a couple held together by mutual hatred for a lifetime is unthinkable. They lack the inclination to make pain permanent, to exalt suffering into a national institution. The same is true of criminality. Most offences are only offences in the eyes of those who suffer by them, and it is only they and their nearest relatives who take action against the evil-doer. Social condemnation is absent. But in those few cases—incest and ritual offences, i.e. symbolic incest—where society feels inclined to do something, it does it thoroughly and the offender will hardly be in a position to offend a second time. In a primitive society there are no individuals who are oppressed or despised, nobody whose will is not in harmony with public will, none who live a life under the compulsion of an endopsychic ' need for punishment '.

11. In a paper on the psychology of work Winterstein [25] uses the person of Sisyphus as a symbol of modern civilization. He says that the ideal of modern man, work and no end, was felt as a curse or punishment in the beginning of civilization in ancient Greece. The virtues of our modern citizen, of the man who provides for the future, devotes his life to work and to his family, is conscientious and punctual at his office, are the exact opposite of the easy-going ways of a savage. But we can understand the contrast still better if we think of the obsessional neurosis as a negative form of the anal-sadistic organization, or of a person whom we should qualify as an anal character. In obsessional neurosis we find the perpetual anxiety that a certain deed or thought might cause the death of a certain person, while primitive man practises this very form of killing by magic. The savage will never rack his brain or ponder about the future, he has no care for his next meal before he feels hunger, he does not pile up excremental symbols (money) as a guarantee against a dreaded state of famine, loss of life and pleasure. He is not pedantic and certainly not clean. There is no displacement of anal libidinal energies, no sublimation of these energies into the sphere of the super-ego or of the ego. If we try to ascertain the libidinal basis of ego-functions we find, as in the case of the super-ego, that ego functions are built up on a basis of deflected oral- and phallic-sadistic trends. The process of becoming civilized means that the super-ego and ego gain ground at the expense of the id.

[25] A. Winterstein: ' Zur Psychologie der Arbeit ', *Imago*, Bd. XVIII, 1932.

12. This generalized statement demands a commentary. A long list of people and a long list of civilizations are usually called primitive, but the description given above applies with certainty only to the Australians, and it may apply on the basis of the meagre data we find in anthropological books also to the Pygmy tribes. In other words, to food-gatherers. In the life of the people of Duau whom I know, and also in the lives of other New Guinea and Melanesian people, money, or something that for want of a better word we must translate as ' money ', plays a conspicuous rôle. The shell-money in question signifies wealth, but even more than wealth it means social prestige. I have discussed the excremental symbolism of shell-money in a paper published more than ten years ago,[26] and in my field notes I find several variants of an explanatory myth which accounts for the origin of the *kune* (Trobriand *kula*) by the story that once when a pig was killed for a feast instead of fæces *bagi* (strings of red shells) and *mwari* (white arm shells) were found in its guts. As we have already observed, the great aim in life for everybody in Duau is to own *bagis* and *mwaris*, to be great in the *kune* and in making a *sagari* (that is, in piling up and distributing yams). But however ' rich ' anybody may be this makes no difference in practical life ; it does not mean less work and more pleasure. The *bagi* is only ' held ' for a short time like the cup won by a football team, and the yams are only piled up to be distributed to strangers. I have called this state of things *narcissistic capitalism*, and it is probably a far more general phenomenon among semi-primitive societies than we might have suspected. The libidino-economical basis of these societies is the displacement of cathexis from the genital to the anal functions. In societies of this kind wealth means magic power and magic power means wealth. ' The persistence with which the Yurok desire wealth is extraordinary. They are firmly convinced that persistent thinking of money will bring it. Particularly is this believed to be true while one is engaged in any sweat-house occupation. As a man climbs the hill to gather sweat-house wood—always a meritorious practice in the sense that it tends to bring about fulfilment of wishes—he puts his mind on dentalia. He makes himself see them along the trail or hanging from fir trees eating the leaves. When he sees a tree that is particularly full of these visioned dentalia, he climbs it to cut its branches just below the top. In the sweat house he looks

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[26] ' Heiliges Geld in Melanesien', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IX, 1923.

until he sees more money shells, perhaps peering in at him through the door '.[27]

The narcissistic value of money is shewn also in its opposition to coitus. Here again the dentalium money of the Yurok agrees with the magical power of other North American tribes.[28] ' The Yurok hold a strong conviction that dentalium money and the congress of the sexes stand in a relation of inherent antithesis. This is the reason for the summer mating season : the shells would leave the house in which conjugal desires were satisfied and it is too cold and rainy to sleep outdoors in winter.' [29]

The linking up of cleanliness, merit, power and dentalium money clearly shews the beginnings of anal character formation, which although still an essentially narcissistic form of gratification, is beginning to transform a society of equals into a society of superiors and inferiors. ' The beautiful skins or head-dresses or obsidians displayed at a dance by one rich man excite the interest and envy of visitors of wealth whereas poor men take notice but are not stirred. Such wealthy spectators return home determined to exhibit an even greater value of property the next year. Their effort in turn excites the first man to outdo all his competitors '.[30] The desire for these anal symbols comes first, the practical application afterwards. *That is, originally people do not desire money because you can buy things for it, but you can buy things for money because people desire it.* It is a long way from narcissistic to real capitalism, and none of the people who are usually called primitive have overstepped this boundary. My definition of primitive people as possessing a super-ego based mainly on deflected oral and genital strivings applies to the food gatherers. Wherever we have agriculture—that is, the idea of providing for the future—we must assume a certain development of anal (sphincter) character. In the form of capitalism which I have called narcisstic, urethral elements (ambition, vanity) taken over from the food-gathering stage of development (Central-Australian ritual) play a conspicuous part beside the anal-libidinal components. It would be an interesting task to sketch

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[27] A. L. Kroeber : *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 1925, p. 41.

[28] Cf. the folk-tale motive of the hero who loses his power, because he prefers woman to power : G. A. Dorsey : *The Pawnee*, 1906, Part I, p. 104. *Idem*, *The Mythology of the Wichita*, 1904, p. 254.

[29] Kroeber, *loc. cit.*

[30] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

the psychological history of mankind, how displaced libido transforms society and thus from the point of view of the individual transforms environment. The ego is then compelled to new adaptations, and the anal-sadistic energies which first underwent transformation from id-impulses into elements of the super-ego now enter largely into the composition of the ego itself.

13. If we give up our descriptive point of view and adopt a dynamic outlook, we must say that the process of becoming civilized is identical with the extension and intensification of the scope of the super-ego. Important ego-modifications are not the direct result of adaptation to environment, but of the pressure of the super-ego on the ego. But if we go on with our questions and inquire into the origin of the super-ego, the answer will be, if we confine ourselves to a general statement and avoid controversy: from the Œdipus complex, from the infantile situation. If we compare various races, people and phases of culture with each other, the *prolongation of infancy* proceeds *pari passu* with cultural progress. The races which play a leading part in civilization arrive at puberty much later than primitive mankind. The situation is the same if we regard it not from the biological but from the sociological or psychological point of view. A Pitchentara child attains a considerable degree of economic independence when he or she is about six or seven years old. A Papuan child helps his father and mother with the garden work, has a little garden of his own, and in Duau at the age of ten a house of his own. But we find the same difference at home if we compare the children of the peasant class or proletariat with those of the aristocracy or rich bourgeoisie. The conclusion arrived at is the same that I have set forth in greater detail and on the basis of a somewhat different argument in a recent publication.[31] After his initiation an Aranda boy receives a *namatuna* (bull-roarer), by the aid of which he can make the conquest of an *alknarintja*: that is, a woman who 'turns her eyes away' and refuses to have anything to do with men. Dream analysis shews that the *alknarintja* is the mother who 'turns her eyes away' from the desires of her son. The mother is also an *alknarintja* in the sense of a wish-fulfilment, since this involves the denial of the primal scene. The repression and sublimation of the primal scene is at the bottom of totemistic ritual and religion. Children do not originate from parental

[31] *The Riddle of the Sphinx, or Human Origins*, in the International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1934.

intercourse, but from the *tjurunga*, from the reincarnated ancestor. It is forbidden to dream of an *alknarintja* woman, because these women, although coming from afar, appear in the guise of a ' wrong ' woman, that is of a woman who is in the ' incestuous ' category. The *alknarintja* woman appears in the dream with the intention of committing incest, but in the inverted position because she sits on the penis of the man and plays the male rôle in coitus. We see, therefore, that the *alknarintja* woman means the mother, that the qualification of *alknarintja*, i.e. ' non-desirous ', really signifies the opposite attitude, and that the phantasy or dream has something to do with the inverted posture in coitus, But if we know that mothers habitually sleep on their children, covering them as my informants said ' like a man lying on a woman ', we can understand the whole situation. It is evident that this situation must act on the boy as a libidinal trauma. He comes very near to the realization of his Œdipus phantasies. The mother would probably tolerate an erection in this situation, that is, pretend not to notice it. Or she might even play with the penis as I have seen Tankai masturbating her little son Aldinga till he got an erection, and going on talking to the others in the meanwhile. But there would certainly be no immission, because that would be taken seriously. The undeveloped ego of the child needs an ally against frustrations and castration anxiety and finds this ally in the super-ego, in the denial and reversal of unfulfilled wishes, in the introjection of the beings who refuse to give full gratification. The infant desires not only to obtain nourishment through the nipple but also to penetrate into the mother's body. Therefore the most ancient stratum of the super-ego is the inversion of this wish, based on anxiety and formed by identification with the parent who destroys the body of the infant. As the child wishes to tear the father's penis out of the mother, the super-ego contains the father who castrates the son.

The question is, how do the ego and the super-ego manage to deal with the surplus of libido involved in the *alknarintja* situation ? The proximity of the mother in this posture is hidden under the veil of the *alknarintja* woman who comes from very far, and the boy who has undergone a phase of passivity now uses ' caveman style ' in the conquest of his *alknarintja*-spouse. The fundamental feature of Central Australian culture is to keep woman away from man, but the emblem of this culture is the *tjurunga* covered with concentric circles, that is, a penis covered with symbols of the vagina. The central feature of initiation is subincision. Now initiation is a ceremony

which aims at the separation of the child from the mother. But the latent meaning of subincision is just the reverse, for the opening made on the penis is called vagina, and the vagina on the penis, the mother on the son, is the *alknarintja* situation. According to the Pitchentara the central mystery of initiation is visible in the Milky Way. A demon-woman sat on the penis of a boy before the circumcision wound was healed and they stuck together. Now they are visible in the Milky Way, and they are also called ' mother with her son '.

I have called the *alknarintja* situation an ontogenetic trauma, and I have been able to shew that the repression of this ontogenetic trauma, the return of the repressed elements, or the sublimations derived from the trauma, are decisive factors in the formation of the character and culture of a primitive people. In our own civilization we find individual character evolving from the infantile traumas or the infantile situation. In primitive civilizations typical tendencies are based on habitual customary traumas, situations which will occur again and again in the infancy of a group of individuals. These typical traumas are conditioned by certain customs, and their existence explains the well-known relative uniformity of primitive character. If we can attempt an explanation of specific, very primitive human ' civilizations ' on the basis of ontogenetic traumas, it seems obvious that we can go one step further and derive human civilization in general, that is the process of becoming human, the difference between an animal and a human being, from the relation of children to their parents, from some specific modification of the period of infancy.

As a matter of fact we find both in humanity and in the animal world that prolonged infancy and higher development go together. Prolonged infancy means the prolongation of the period in which traumas must be felt as such, and it is the psychical elaboration of these traumas (aggressions, libidinal traumas, Œdipus situation, primal scene, castration anxiety), the development of the super-ego, which differentiates man from his animal brethren. Sexually we are mature before our body is prepared to bear the brunt of this maturity, and somatically we counterbalance this retardation in ego-development by psychical defence mechanisms. The infantile situation means prolonged helplessness and explains human evolution. In other words, ancestors became human just as the child grows up to-day, by a psychic elaboration of infantile traumas. The process of retardation which led us from the ape to primeval man has been continuing ever since, and by prolonging infancy increases the volume of traumas

that come to bear on the individual. On the other hand it is these traumas that supply the material out of which the super-ego is formed. Retardation [32] therefore means an ever-increasing intensification and extension of the super-ego. The latency period, which is the time of full super-ego formation in our own civilization, is absent or only faintly indicated among the most primitive races of mankind.

' If we consider once more the origin of the super-ego as we have described it '—says Freud—' we shall perceive it to be the outcome of two highly important factors, one of them biological and the other historical: namely, the lengthy duration in man of the helplessness and dependence belonging to childhood, and the fact of his Œdipus complex, the repression of which we have shewn to be connected with the interruption of libidinal development by the latency period [33] and so with the twofold onset of activity characteristic of man's sexual life '.[34] We can therefore either say that primitive man has a more superficial type of super-ego, or—what amounts to the same thing—that the savage represents a less retarded variety of mankind. Being human means sacrificing the present for the sake of the future, prolonging fore-pleasure at the expense of end-pleasure. It means less happiness but more security.

14. In an important paper on the differences in the psychology of man and woman in civilized society Karen Horney describes the situation of the male child. Every boy behaves as if he were influenced by the idea that his genital should be larger because he compares his own penis with the genital organ of the mother. Hence the typically male attitude of regarding coitus as a task that must be achieved, and the latent anxiety regarding the size of the penis and regarding potency.

' Now one of the exigencies of the biological difference of the sexes is this: that the man is actually obliged to go on proving his manhood to the woman. There is no analogous necessity for her; even if she is frigid she can engage in sexual intercourse and conceive and bear a

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[32] For the biological law of retardation cp. Bolk, *Das Problem der Menschwerdung*, 1926. Sir Arthur Keith, ' The Evolution of the Human Races ', *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Institute*, Vol. LXIII, 1928, p. 312.

[33] This ' interruption ' should be regarded as a specific instance of the general phenomenon of retardation.

[34] Freud: *The Ego and the Id*, pp. 45–46 (Dr. Bálin kindly called my attention to this passage).

child. She performs her part by merely *being* without any *doing*—a fact which has always filled men with admiration and resentment. The man on the other hand has to *do* something in order to fulfil himself. The ideal of "efficiency" is a typical masculine ideal'.[35]

A patient who is suffering from impotence dreams of impossible feats which he has to perform, of dragons or fiery steeds as antagonists in a fight, has horrible visions of a fish with a huge jaw full of teeth about to bite off his penis and at the same time feels his hands growing to inordinate dimensions. The dragons and other monsters are the parent, the heroic deed is coitus and the greatness of the task in phantasy or dream life shews the quantity of anxiety that has to be dealt with in analysis. Heroic myth is therefore a mirror of the infantile situation: the hero is the little boy, and the imago of the mother is represented both by the heroine and by the dragon. Heroic myth is far more prominent in relatively civilized, semi-barbarous communities than among real primitives. Food gatherers have no heroes like the Polynesian Maui, the Vedic Indra, the Germanic Thor or the Hebrew Jahwe. A characteristic feature in the life of these heroes is that they stand alone against a host of giants, dragons or otherwise superhuman, destructive beings and the improbability of the victory increases the thrill of the deed. The hymn of the Rigveda on the victory of Indra shews the nature of this heroism:—

'1. In sooth, all the gods, the willing helpers, Sky and Earth, they elect Indra of the thunderbolt, thee alone to fight Vrtra.

2. The gods decreased in their strength like greybeards and thou Indra, whose mother is truth, becamest sole ruler. Thou hast conquered the dragon who withheld the waters and dug the beds of the rivers that nourish us all.

3. With the thunderbolt thou hast cleft the unwakable, insatiable, sleeping dragon who withheld the seven rivers.

4. Indra shook the earth to its very depths by his might, like the wind that shakes the waters. With his strength he took the fortress and he cleft the peaks of the mountains.

5. Like women they let out the embryo. Thou hast liberated the streams from their bonds.

6. The great river which nourishes all, thou hast made it stand still—the flood of water. Thou hast made a passage through the rivers.

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[35] K. Horney: 'The Dread of Woman', this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, 1932, p. 359.

7. He has fertilized the girls who rushed to him like springs breaking forth from the rocks, he has fertilized the young women, who were pining away. The fields were thirsty, he satisfied them. He gave the barren woman milk and a husband of miraculous strength.'

It is evident that the victory achieved by the hero and the fertilization of the women are the same thing, and that dragon, castle and mountain all symbolize the body of the female. Nourishing fluids of some kind, rivers, rain or milk, are the result of the victory, i.e. of coitus. Just as dragons and mountains stand for woman, rivers and rain mean milk, and the whole when taken together signifies the tremendous deed of him who 'cleft' the milk-giving woman, the mother. The second meaning of the fluid as a result of the victory is probably that of the fluid that pours out from both partners in orgasm.

There is some difference of opinion among translators regarding verse 5. According to Caland and Henry we should read: 'elles [the rivers] coururent à toi comme des femmes à un nouveau né', that is, Indra in the moment of his victory is a new-born child.[36] Whichever version is correct we have at any rate the parallel episode of the myth in which Indra, like other dragon slayers, kills his mother by being born.[37] The variants of the myth shew a tendency to use coitus- and birth-symbolism alternatively. The *motif* of the things that are in the serpent and have to come forth from the serpent's body is an essential element of these myths. Hills and a serpent, or a serpent transformed into a mountain, contain the waters. Opened by Indra's thunderbolt, the rivers pour out of the nipple of the hills.[38] In the Mahabharata (III, 100) Vrtra in his terrific rage swallows Indra; then the gods make the monster yawn and Indra comes forth. In the Bhagavatpurana (VI, 12) events are described as in the myths labelled 'Sun God in the inside of the Fish' by Frobenius.[39] Vrtra opens his mouth as if he wanted to swallow the whole world. But he

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[36] For the translation as given above cf. A. Hillebrandt: *Lieder des Rigveda*, pp. 45, 46 (Rigveda, IV, 19). For other opinions among translators see H. Grassmann: *Rig-Veda*, 1876, Vol. I, p. 127.

[37] Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 44 (Rigveda, IV, 18, 3). L. von Schroeder: *Mysterum und Mimus im Rigveda*, 1808, p. 337. E. Krause: *Die Trojaburgen Osteuropas*, 1893, p. 120.

[38] Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[39] Cp. L. Frobenius: *Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, 1904.

only swallows Indra, who then cuts his way out of the monster's inside.[40]

We might therefore reconstruct the latent formula of the myth as follows: *Indra, generating himself,*[41] *penetrates into the body of Vrtra (his mother) and by coming out of the body (by being born) he kills his antagonist.* Birth and coitus are both symbolized by the myth. As a late version of the same theme we have the story of Krishna, who with some children finds himself in a cave, which, however, is also the inside of a serpent. He inflates his body to gigantic proportions so that the snake bursts and all the children come out.[42] Now Vishnu is a new form of the hero-god, Indra and Krishna a reincarnation of Vishnu.

In Vedic poetry Vrtra is called the one who envelops, contains something: that is, the waters or any other desirable object. He is equated with a wrap or envelope (*vavri*) and called the 'pregnant one' (*paridhi*) of the waters.[43] We see therefore that the deed of the hero is really the same thing as the phantasy of the child, viz. to penetrate into the body of the mother, to cleave the mother as the receptacle of something which is ambivalently regarded as desirable or hateful (father's penis, child, excrement, etc.).[44] This original phantasy nucleus does not distinguish between coitus (penetration by means of the penis), uterine regression (birth symbolism), and oral penetration.

Indra, who through being born has killed his mother, and, scarcely born, already kills his father, the genius of fertility, is certainly a typical representative of the phantasies that characterize the infantile situation. Penetration (coitus) and tearing out are the hazy uncertain elements of the deed, and the antagonist a condensation of both

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[40] Hillebrandt: *Vedische Mythologie*, 1902, Vol. III, pp. 244, 245.

[41] Indra is aided by Vishnu in the struggle. Victory is achieved by the three mythical steps of Vishnu. 'Friend Vishnu, step further, Heaven, give room to the thunderbolt, for cleaving asunder.' Rigveda, VIII, 89, 12. Schroeder: 'Herakles und Indra.' *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vol. LVIII, 1914, p. 21. The coitus significance of the steps (cp. Róheim: 'The Significance of Stepping Over', this JOURNAL, Vol. III, 1922, p. 320) is confirmed by the parallel reference to the thunderbolt and the cleaving.

[42] M. Crooke: *The Legends of Krishna.* Folk-lore, Vol. XI, p. 12.

[43] Hillebrandt: *Vedische Mythologie*, 1902, Vol. III, p. 163.

[44] Cp. M. Klein: *The Psycho-Analysis of Children*, 1932.

parents.[45] The essential thing from our point of view is that this infantile situation with its elements of aggression is in the talion aspect an anxiety situation. The heroism of the deed is in proportion to the anxiety that has to be overcome. As soon as Indra has conquered Vrtra he is seized by a terrible anxiety. He feels completely helpless, forsaken by his own strength and by all the gods. He flies to the end of the world, hides in the waters, becomes so small that he can disappear in a lotus-flower, where he is finally found by his wife.[46]

Heroic myth with a central figure that represents the child or the phallus, or functionally the overcoming of anxiety, fighting against a host of beings, superhuman in size, inhuman in habits, dragons or ogres who stand for the parental imagos or anxiety: all this is characteristic of civilized races. Really primitive mythology and religion has no Thor, Indra or Herakles, no Maui or Jahwe. The deed were not so great were it not for anxiety.

> Awake, awake, put on strength
> O arm of Jahwe
> Awake as in the days of old,
> The generations of ancient times,
> Art thou not it that cut Rahab in pieces,
> That pierced the dragon ?
> Art thou not it which dried up the sea,
> The waters of the great deep ?
> That made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over ? [47]

The last lines refer to the passage through the Red Sea, but the whole is evidently a hymn to Jahwe commemorating his victory over the primeval dragon Rahab. The word rendered by ' piercing ' in the English Revised Version is translated by ' schänden ' in the German, a word with a decided sexual connotation. The Hebrew word ' holel ' means to ' pierce ', to ' profane ' and in Arabic to ' deflorate '.[48] The

[45] ' La conception de Vrtra rappelle celle de la mère, ou mieux, puisqu'il s'agit d'un être mâle, celle du père caché.' Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, Vol. II, p. 201.

[46] Mahabharata, V. 10. I. I. Meyer, *Das Weib im altindischen Epos*, 1915, pp. 266, 267.

[47] Isaiah li. 9 and 10.

[48] Cp. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum alten Testament*, 1922, p. 110. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament*, 1899, p. 253. On the myth, Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895.

colossal figures of hero-gods, and their antagonists the primeval dragons, owe their existence to retardation, for the task to be solved by the adult must loom as colossal from the viewpoint of the immature ego.

Central Australia has a mythology in which this heroic element is completely absent. On the other hand, however, we find this same plot or situation (one human being against a host of supernaturals) which is also the nucleus of Eurasian *Märchen* in Central Australian folk-tales. The theme of these stories is the victory achieved by the *indatoa* (normal man) against a host of cannibal phallic giants, representatives of the parental imagos. But these stories, with the functional significance of overcoming infantile anxiety, are limited to the infantile part of the population, while the proper stuff for men are the ritual songs and myths in which the heroic element is lacking. The great deed of the hero-god, the dream of semi-barbarous nations, may be regarded as foreshadowing the advent of our own form of civilization. We have evolved a state of things in which everybody must be a hero, must do something, achieve something, in order to become an ordinary adult male member of society. The architect must always build new houses and outdo his rivals, the author must invent new plots for books, the business man must develop his business, the employee tries to get a better employment: everybody is rushing about in a state of feverish haste, emphatically *doing* something, that is, continually *proving* his sexual potency. Civilized adults, like children, depend on an ever-increasing number of other adults for the gratification of their wishes. The process of growing up, once a biological process, has now become an achievement.

15. If we argue from the viewpoint of the theory of retardation we come to the conclusion that 'humanization' and 'civilization' both mean a prolonging of the infancy period: which means that the savage is more infantile than the ape and civilized man more infantile than the savage. On the face of it this sounds rather absurd. But nobody would doubt the statement if it were applied merely to our body. The fact of retardation in becoming mature can be proved both for the savage as compared to the ape and for civilized man as compared to the savage. It is also obvious that our tendency to cling to infancy grows with civilization. There is a marked change even in the behaviour of the previous as compared to that of our own generation. People simply refuse to admit that such a thing as age exists. Rejuvenation is a civilized problem, whether we consider it as it appears in

alchemy, in 'Faust', or in modern movements, and finally in the experiments of Steinach and Voronoff. However, we cannot doubt that in many respects the savage is psychologically a child while we are something different. Lack of care for the morrow, an egoistic and narcissistic temperament, instability and liability to sudden outbursts, are characteristic both of the denizens of the jungle and of the nursery. We are something different and for want of a better word we may call this state of things 'being adult'. By 'we' I do not mean, in this case, the analytical ideal, but rather the average member of a civilized community. This form of 'growing up' differs considerably from animal maturity which is a perfect, but not easily modified, rigid adaptation to the outer world. The change that has taken place is obviously regressive, caused by an increasing development of the infantile situation. Thus the psychological corollary of the biological process of retardation is not psychical infantilism but a state of things that is brought about by a series of mechanisms evolved out of the infantile situation, and evolved in order to cope with the anxiety which is the consequence of the infantile situation.

We should therefore distinguish three forms of being adult: 1. the animal. 2. the civilized. 3. the analysed. Type 3 is a return of type 1 on a higher plane, containing adaptation to a more complicated form of reality and the additional quality of elasticity. Type 2 contains all the peculiar forms of personality-distortion which we undergo in consequence of anxiety, or rather of the defence mechanisms developed for the purpose of dealing with this infantile anxiety. Thus the real psychical parallel to the biological process of retardation lies in the sentence: we become adult (type 2) in consequence of the modifications we are subject to in the infantile situation. The prolonging of the infantile situation means an increasing weight bearing on the genital position, and the losses suffered in this battle by the latter indicate the successive phases of civilization. In my previous publications I have arrived at the theory of retardation through what I have called the ontogenetic theory of culture. This means, as indicated above, the idea of culture as conditioned by a habitual infantile trauma, and then the further conclusion that the process of becoming human in general is due to a universal infantile 'trauma', to some modification in the parent-child situation. This theory explains two things: human culture in general and the specialized forms evolved in certain areas. The evolution of the latter is determined by exogenous, 'historical' factors, by things that happen to the child. It seems,

however, that we can also answer a question that has been asked by English psycho-analysts regarding the developmental phases of human culture.[49] The researches of Melanie Klein, Edward Glover and others have shewn that the infantile situation calls forth a series of phantasy systems and corresponding mechanisms, and the question is whether anthropology has anything similar to offer in the development of culture. Certain striking similarities between these phantasy systems and anthropological data make me believe that this question can be answered in the affirmative. If this is correct, the next conclusion would be that there are two types of modification in human culture, and that one of these is comparable to an individual neurosis which, although it can be classified under one of the general clinical formulæ, yet contains elements common to several of these systems and is built up chiefly on the early experiences of the individual. This is what we call the special forms assumed by civilization and society in different areas. The other type refers to successive phases and the corresponding typical innate mechanisms, to a series of attempts at dealing with the same difficulties which are always ready for use and will always be made use of in the same order of succession.

In two cases I am now analysing I have found that the 'body destruction' ideas of Melanie Klein play a conspicuous rôle, and in both cases I have also found that the 'deep sadism' interpretation, as indicated by Edward Glover, has improved the situation in an otherwise rather stagnant analysis. The chief complaint of a depressive girl of twenty-eight is that she is full of pus, matter, fæces or something nasty, and the only way I could cure her would be to open her head with a hammer, beat it till all the brains come out and then pour in through a funnel everything she ought to know and how she ought to behave. Perhaps her most important symptom is that she scratches herself, which results in boils and makes it possible for her to squeeze the pus out of them. When she can do this she is happy and she believes that the more pus she can squeeze out the better for her general state of health. Other symptoms belonging to the same group are the incapacity to learn anything, inhibited desire to swallow the excrement of others, a chronic constipation and eating sweets or other similar things. If somebody is kind to her she eats sweets to celebrate the event (praise received = sweets eaten), and if unkind, she eats

[49] Cf. E. Glover: 'Common Problems in Psycho-Analysis and Anthropology,' *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. XII, 1932, p. 112.

them as a compensation. Analysis shews that her habit of digging her nails into her skin is the 'turning against herself' of an infantile phantasy of using her nails to attack her mother's body and of tearing out from her mother's body all the 'good' excrement, children and penises contained in it. All the 'good' contents are in the body of others, representatives of the mother, and all the 'bad' ones are in her own body. The other case is a young man of twenty suffering from impotence. His phantasies centre round the idea of digging into the body of the analyst, tearing out the analyst's penis or the excrement found in the body. In the inverted form he has the phantasy of a huge penis penetrating into his own body and destroying everything in his inside. Another form of the same phantasy is the idea of ripping open the stomach of his lady-love and tearing out whatever he finds inside. Or again he has the vision of a nipple, his mother's nipple (= analyst's penis), of eating it and of penetrating into the body through the nipple. An infantile memory refers to his fourth year, when his father came back from the war and he was in bed beside his mother. The feeling connected with this memory is that of alarm, and the phantasy is either that his father is looking for something in a trunk or that he puts him into a trunk or into the pedestal-cupboard (= mother's body). The interpretation of this phantasy system brought about a marked change in his relation to his girl-friend. His aggressivity and anxiety were very much diminished, and he spontaneously developed the idea of the imago of a lady of surpassing beauty, tenderness, softness and depth of feeling, easily recognizable as the 'restored' or 'indestructible' form of the mother's body.

A certain group of ideas found in Central Australia corresponds with this phantasy system in a striking manner, especially if we take the body destruction and talion punishment phantasy system as the starting point of paranoic mechanisms. The 'dangerous' penis, or children, or excrement, which have been bitten out of the mother's body (or 'combined parents' = mother's and father's body in the primal scene), are now inside, forming a danger within and have to be got rid of by projection. This gives rise to the host of persecutors, representatives of both parental imagos. The stronger emphasis laid on the persecutor of the same sex is probably due to a later phase of the Œdipus situation with fully developed parent-objects and aggression directed against the parent of the same sex. It is this aggression that is over-libidinized by a homosexual current and the

latter is then subject to a revival of the aggressive trends in their retributive form.

What corresponds with this in Central Australia is the medicine-man, nankara-stone (pointing-bone), demon system. A Central Australian medicine-man is initiated when a demon or ancestral double or elder medicine-man enters his body, takes out all the internal organs, heart, liver, lungs, etc., and gives him a new indestructible set of organs instead. What does this mean? Obviously the vocation of dealing with anxiety (= disease) is evolved out of the fundamental body-destruction anxiety and is started by a fictitious abreaction of this anxiety. The worst has happened, the internal organs have been destroyed, and the repetition of the danger is avoided by the new indestructible outfit. The talion nature of the initiation is shewn, for instance, by Wapiti's narrative. First he eats *wapiti* (yam), his own totem, and then his supernatural father and double. Wapiti puts something into his body. The pointing-bone, snake or stone in the body of the wizard, is clearly equivalent to the penis, testicles, fæces, children, of the primitive infantile phantasy systems. It is first incorporated in the body and then repeatedly ejected. This 'throwing out' represents both defæcation and ejaculation, and is an attempt to get rid of the cause of anxiety both when it appears as the medicine-man's curative technique and when it is regarded as the agency causing disease. The 'body-content' is the source of magic power, but when it is in the patient's body it is also the source of anxiety. The medicine-man removes the invisible stone by sucking, just as the infant tries to penetrate into the mother through the nipple or to suck the contents out of her body through the same medium. The medicine-man is certainly the obvious parallel to the paranoiac, for he is persecuted by and fights against a host of demons, huge cannibalistic, phallic beings. The magical objects or embodiments of disease frequently give rise to these demons when ejected from the body: that is, the persecutors of the paranoic system are the body-contents which have first been incorporated from the parental into the child's body. The ejection is an attempt to get rid of the anxiety and shews the metamorphosis of the part-objects (father's penis, fæces, child as contained in the mother's body) into complete but impersonal and dangerous parental imagos. Before the discoveries of Melanie Klein we should have felt inclined to interpret this phantasy of total body destruction and re-constitution in terms of castration anxiety. However, it now seems probable that castration anxiety reanimates

earlier systems of anxiety which were dominant in a previous phase of the infantile situation. But these earliest forms of anxiety are conditioned by the infantile situation : that is, by the law of retardation. The analysis of Central Australian culture makes it probable that the phantasy-system ' medicine-man-magic weapon-cannibal (phallic) demon ' is an earlier form of religion than totemism with its castration symbolism in the initiation ceremonies, its tendency towards an ideal formation in the person of the ' eternal dream folk ' (*altjiranga mitjine*), with repression (alleged ' ignorance '), morals, taboos, and the obsessional ritual of the ' *illpangura andatta* '. The magic objects and demons represent the part-object and body-contents phantasy systems. The totemic cult is the fully developed Œdipus complex with castration symbolism and obsessional ritual.

The various ' systems ' in which human culture develops may thus be viewed as a series of attempts to deal with infantile anxieties. It is probable that the part-object and body-destruction system is followed everywhere by a fully developed Œdipus system with castration symbolism. A third form of culture corresponds with the constructive games the aim of which is to rebuild the body of the mother. It uses the phantasy system of the first type of anxiety, but overcompensates and libidinizes the destructive element. In Papuan matrilinear civilization, Mother-Earth, the village, the house, and the canoe are symbols of the reconstructed and protective mother. It seems probable that all these and other systems of dealing with the fundamental problem of anxiety are utilized consecutively, and that in each phantasy system the id-aims and the ego undergo modifications. But these modifications are not due to the pressure of reality. Rather we must regard them as defeats in the struggle with the super-ego : that is, as due to the biological fact of a prolonged infancy. The same environment which did not compel the chimpanzee to modify its ego-structure could not have brought about this modification in man had it not been for the fact of our retarded development.

We have suggested that the myth of the Golden Age contains an element of truth not only in its ontogenetic but also in its phylogenetic interpretation. The following lines of Ovid's poem may serve to confirm this suggestion :

> Poena metusque aberant, nec verba minacia fixo
> aere legebantur, nec supplex turba timebat
> iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine vindice tuti.[50]

[50] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I, 91 *seq.*

The absence of anxiety of punishment and of the 'judge' (super-ego) are truly characteristic not only of the beginnings of the individual but also of the pre-human days of our race. It is through a series of complicated mechanisms of dealing with anxiety that our civilization has developed and is still developing. But if the Myth of the Golden Age in the past is more than a projection of human infancy to the cradle of our race, may we ascribe the same degree of reality to the Utopian hopes of mankind to the belief in a Golden Age that is to come? In these days of darkness when the old ideal of individual liberty and happiness has nearly disappeared, can we still believe that Falstaff is not dead [51] and that the ardent desire of mankind for unhappiness, as manifested in all anti-individualistic political systems, may in the future again give way to the opposite tendency? It is difficult to reconcile the desire for an optimistic outlook with the view expressed in my book, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*. There I regarded the evolution of mankind as proceeding from bad to worse and a sort of inverted Couéism as the formula of human history. As I maintained there, the factor which since the dawn of humanity has been at work at developing civilization at the expense of happiness is the death-impulse or destructive impulse as active through the super-ego. It is interesting to observe that this view of history is in accordance with the myth:

> Tertia post illam successit aënea proles
> saevior ingeniis et ad horrida promptior arma.

The complicated series of attempts to deal with infantile aggression and anxiety libidinal trends and ego defence mechanisms evolved in consequence of delayed maturity or retardation is superimposed one on another, and result in all the troubles and cataclysms, in all the neurosis and unhappiness, in all the peculiar psychotic mass movements which are so characteristic of our civilization. Perhaps, however, we should again follow the lead of the myth and assume a repetition of cycles in nature, a kind of recommencement like the process started in analysis.[52] Then we might hope for an acceleration of the process of growing up, for the great effort to be made by Eros,[53] for the

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[51] Cp. Franz Alexander: 'A note on Falstaff', *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1933, p. 592.

[52] Cp. Bálint: 'Characteranalyse und Neubeginn', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. XX, 1934, S. 54.

[53] Freud: *Civilisation and its Discontents*, 1930, p. 144.

return of something like the Golden Age as foretold by Virgil (4th Eclogue) : [54]

> Ultima Cymaei venit iam carminis aetas ;
> magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
> Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna ;
> iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.

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[54] On the mythological significance of this poem, see E. Vorden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Studien der Bibliothek, Wartburg), 1924.

RESISTANCES AT THE CONCLUSION OF ANALYTIC TREATMENT [1]

BY

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I propose in this paper to discuss certain aspects of the resistance of the patient during and at the conclusion of psycho-analytic treatment.

The patient's resistance to the treatment varies with the psychic structure of his disease. This structure is itself the result of an affective conflict, generally of an infantile character, which has determined some particular struggle between the repressing and repressed impulses of the subject. In our joint work Hesnard and I have already shewn that there exist instinctual impulses which should become part of the normal personality and enter into the subject's activities as a whole, whether sexual or sublimated. At the moment when they arise these impulses are regarded as dangerous and are therefore combated by counter-impulses: they rapidly become unconscious and thus their further development is arrested. It is therefore only natural that they should give rise to trouble in proportion as they tend to become deflected into directions other than normal. As you know, the object of analysis is to enable these repressed impulses to resume the normal course of development which has been interrupted; this can be done only by destroying the obstacles which have been erected by the counter-impulses. Such obstacles, set up in the unconscious, are the work of the super-ego and the ego. These are the two institutions which call into being the defensive armour of resistances, the purpose of which is to hold captive the emotional life of our patients—an armour painful to wear but which, nevertheless, serves, as it were, to protect the subject against himself and to establish a kind of equilibrium within him.[2] When we destroy this armour, designed to shield an affrighted affectivity, we upset this equilibrium and compel the patient to perform an arduous piece of work. It is therefore not surprising that, apart from the weight of inertia, normal in every individual, we have to combat the patient's fear, as well as all those forces which in any human being endeavour to resist a surgical intervention of so radical a nature as analysis.

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[1] Read at a meeting of the Paris Psycho-Analytical Society, October 17, 1933.

[2] Cf. our paper on the partitioning-off of affect in schizophrenia.

As you know, analytic treatment is effective in proportion to the skill with which we succeed in overcoming this resistance. So I think it will not be unprofitable to discuss certain unexpected and paradoxical aspects of it. We must at all costs become familiar with these aspects in order that we may bring into the open the hidden forces which we have to put out of action. It is superfluous to remind you how various are the ways in which resistance manifests itself or to mention a fact with which you are familiar, namely, that in proportion as the psychic energy, formerly canalized in the symptoms, finds itself liberated, fresh conflicts arise under the pressure of the libido which is thus set free and for which the subject must find an outlet, if he is not to be submerged by it. In many cases, as you know, the patient halts half-way to cure, whether this be because the analyst is incapable of resolving the conflict, or because obstacles, both external and internal, force us to withdraw into a discreet reserve. In many such cases the newly acquired equilibrium may suffice to produce a cure in so far as the patient's relations to society are concerned. For instance, the protective armour may in one man take the form of an obsession. This becomes impenetrable if he marries a woman of the masculine and frigid type, who acts as the guardian not only of her home but of her husband. Under the pretext of his respect for the sacred law of conjugal fidelity, he utilizes it as an additional bulwark of defence and resistance.

In other cases, work—the work of a galley-slave—performs this useful function, or it may be a friendship with another man which gives a meaning to the subject's life without placing him under the necessity of himself giving too much meaning to life. Thus we discover that the further we get from the point of departure in the neurosis and the nearer we approach to the goal once so fervently longed for, the greater is the patient's tendency to take flight and to settle down in some intermediate form of recovery or of illness. Sometimes, to save his face, he simply substitutes an organic for a psychic disease. We know that it is always possible to acquire the former, thanks to the facility with which (too often, unfortunately, under the ægis of a physician) one can assert that one is ill or even cause oneself to be operated upon. The cases in which an analytic treatment can be fully carried out thus prove to be relatively rare. But the resistances at the close of an analysis are not only the most difficult to lay hold of but also the most violent and the most disagreeable for the analyst. Nevertheless, it is these resistances and, in particular, certain aspects

of them which I now propose to discuss and I would ask you the following question : How does resistance manifest itself at the moment when an analysis is reaching success ? How does it manœuvre in order to render success nugatory ? Why does it intervene to compel the patient to return to his morbid condition, forbidding him to enjoy the health and liberty which he has just attained ? Or, in other terms, what are the obstacles which have the power to hinder him from accepting the success of his recovery ?

One of my patients reported the following dream : ' I was on the station platform at Vienna and I put my box and other belongings into the train for Paris. I got into the train, which was just about to start, and then I got out again on to the platform. The train started and went off with my luggage, leaving me on the platform. What was I to do ? My box had gone off without me. In the end I went to the station-master and asked him to have it sent back again.

' Next, I found myself in a box at the theatre with a young aunt (my mother's sister). The box was in a state of disorder and I was afraid that people would notice that I had disarranged the curtains round it with my hands.

' Then I saw myself opening a love-letter, addressed to a certain banker by a Jewess, an actress, who was " on the rocks ". In the act of opening it I revolted against this conduct on my part : it was entirely alien to my general behaviour.'

To help you to understand these dreams and the situation of the patient (whom we will call Mr. X.) let me explain the meaning of the trunk which went off in the Paris train. This trunk contained Mr. X.'s personal property, foremost amongst which was a pair of woman's boots, which he had bought simply for the purpose of looking at them while masturbating. It contained, besides, apparatus for giving enemas, of which X. was constantly making use at this period, either to relieve the discomfort of hæmorrhoids or of an anal eczema of which he frequently complained, or to get rid of intestinal worms (whose presence had become such an obsession with him that he imagined that he could perceive their slightest movements), or else as a remedy against an obstinate form of eczema which was often complicated by boils. Whenever attacked by one of these afflictions he would begin a series of enemas, in order to obtain relief.

I must mention, besides, amongst the patient's belongings, his drugs—medicines for spasms of the heart, the œsophagus and the

stomach. These symptoms had obliged him to submit to complicated and expensive treatment at the hands of all the most distinguished specialists in affections of the alimentary canal, the intestine, the appendix and the anus.

All these things the patient, who came from the neighbourhood of Vienna, meant to send to me in Paris or, more accurately, he meant in this dream to give them up and make me a present of them.

But you will have noticed that he changed his mind and informed the station-master that he wanted his luggage sent back.

It was interesting to discover the psychic state to which all these elements related at the time he had the dream.

For some days the patient had been complaining of anxiety and tachycardia, or rather, to use his own phrase, of '*Herzpumpern*' ('thumping of his heart'). He came to analysis in a thoroughly bad temper, asserting that he had never been in such an abominable condition. 'And I have not the least idea why I should be like this', he said: 'all the other symptoms but the cardiac ones have disappeared. I have never been so well (I mean, on the physical side) and I was only thinking so yesterday. I said to myself: What can be happening? Here I am, strong and robust, and I have said good-bye to the gastric pains and to rectoscopic examinations and consultations with doctors. I get up earlier, I can do my work, I go out, I have a mistress whom I love and who loves me, and yet now I am in a raging temper and feel miserable. . . . I'll tell you something: yesterday I met the O—— ambassador in the street. I accosted him without hesitation and walked along with him and started an animated discussion about a woman who strikes me as charming. I believe she is the wife of a Turkish minister. I said that I had spent the afternoon with her, and then—I pulled myself up. I suddenly wondered what possessed me to make these confidences, to walk with the ambassador, to regard myself as a normal person and to talk to him about women . . . so I pulled myself up, saying to myself: Now I've put my foot in it! And, without accompanying him as far as his house, as the merest courtesy would have demanded, I left him abruptly, hardly saying good-bye to him. I am quite certain that he must have taken me for a bounder.'

I am sure that you have already realized what was happening in this patient's mind. His trunk and his other belongings are symbols for his neurosis, his homosexuality and his anal complex, all of which he was trying to get rid of by dispatching them to me. He was in

a rage about it, for he clung to these things as he did to his father, to whom he was fixated.

It infuriated him to see himself as an attractive person, in good health, equal to the situation and conversing easily with an ambassador who was a well-known figure in Paris. Suddenly the patient remembered that this was not the impression he wished to make on people : the rôle he preferred was that of a blunderer and a sick man, constantly lamenting and suffering. So, instead of finishing the conversation, he stopped dead. He did not wish to part with his trunk.

Now the remainder of these dreams makes their true *motif* clear. For the patient dreamt that he was at the theatre, in a box which was in disorder, accompanied by his aunt, his mother's sister, and, moreover, without his trunk, i.e. his father. He had sent the latter off by the Paris train, dispatched it, that is to say, into another country, a different world. Surely this abandoning of his father signified killing him. Was not the patient afraid that everyone would notice that he had these thoughts ? Had he not done his utmost to dissociate sexuality and tenderness, taking for his sexual objects either prostitutes or else the physicians with whom, through the intervention of his symptoms, he had had, as it were, sexual relations ? It is true that he had not actually ' proposé la botte ',[3] but what do the woman's boots stand for, which he bought and in front of which he fell into a state of ecstasy, if not for the boot to which he had chosen to devote his life to the exclusion of any other cult ? It is easy to see that the aim of this fetishism was to allow him to deny the existence of the female genital, or rather, to enable him to believe in the existence of a male organ in women. For this reason he would force a prostitute to put on the boots in question and all his interest was focussed on them : he did not dare to look higher than the girls' knees, so great was his fear of discovering that of which he wished to remain in ignorance.

Now, here he was, in the dream, in a box at the theatre with his aunt, afraid that everyone would notice that he had disarranged the curtains of the box.

But we can go further. In another dream he was in the act of opening a love-letter addressed to a certain banker by a Jewish actress. X.'s father was a banker, well known in Austria, and the family was Jewish. Here we have the patient, who had never been attracted by any Jewish girl, about to open this letter and commit an act of ' deflora-

[3] French slang for anal intercourse.

tion '. And this actress, a young Jewess, reminded him of his sister. Could one imagine a clearer way of expressing the fact that the two elements of sexuality were being shifted on to a single individual, elements which, as I have said, were dissociated in our patient? For he approached his sister's friends with a chaste tenderness, while he squandered his manhood in the lowest depths of prostitution, perversion and neurosis. In the young actress who was in a state of poverty we recognize the prostitute; in the Jewish girl, who reminded the patient of his sister, we recognize the sister herself.

Now all this infuriated the patient. Things were going well, much too well for him. He had not yet reached the point of being able to endure success. He protested vigorously that he was being made to appear indiscreet and pretentious. He could not as yet renounce the fascination and romance of his former state in which, from the depths of his neurosis, his failure and his physical illness, he could gaze at his distant idol, the inaccessible virgin, the woman with whom he had been impotent, a sick man—so impotent that he was in no danger of yielding to sexual temptation and sick enough to be pitied and spoilt and to remain his mother's darling and the adored son of his father, whose one idea was to devise ways of pleasing him.

Normality has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Manhood imposes many responsibilities which people do not always feel strong enough to assume. Like soldiers who have been cured of their wounds and who reproach the doctors with having cured them only to send them back to the front, many of our patients reproach us with regarding them as mere cannon-fodder. Paradoxical as it may seem in their case, the ' cannon ' which terrifies them is woman—recovery. Many of them find it hard to forgive us for curing them. Their resistance to recovery may become formidable. Complaining about me to one of his friends, a patient of mine said recently: ' He has condemned me to live with inferior beings '. He was referring to the woman with whom he was living and to whom he forthwith apologized for having called her ' an inferior being '.

How is this resistance to be overcome? How are we to terminate an analysis and persuade a patient to accept his recovery? This is a problem which defies solution unless we are able to analyse the resistances which I have been describing.

The following case is no less illuminating than that of X. The patient was a middle-aged man who, like X., had had a fairly long analysis with an analyst of the school of Stekel, before coming to me.

Here is one of his dreams, which expresses the situation well:

'I had taken my car to a garage. It was a question of changing the engine and I think they had substituted for the old engine an eight-cylinder Ford. But it may have been a Mathis. I protested, because I thought it used too much petrol.'

To understand this dream, it would help us to consider certain associations of ideas in this patient's mind. One day, the proprietor of a garage had, actually, changed the jet of X.'s carburettor, with the result that the amount of petrol consumed was abnormally large. To get this put right he had had to take the car to Solex (the firm which made that particular carburettor) and their mechanic had fitted it with jets of the same calibre as those which the other man had removed.

Mr. J.'s dream is easy to understand. He was reproaching his analyst (the 'garage man') for having changed his engine and given him a more powerful one (an eight-cylinder Ford or Mathis), which used too much petrol. Now Mr. J. had suffered from sexual and affective impotence which translated itself into all kinds of symptoms. These were, in the sexual sphere, *ejaculatio præcox* and dissociation of sexuality, very pronounced latent homosexuality (with a corresponding erotization of all the mechanisms of failure by means of which he allowed himself to be defeated), castration-anxiety and a flight from love. In the sphere of affect we had to deal with instability, an inability to enter upon a career and to succeed, a perpetual flight from any sort of responsibility and an almost complete dependence on his family, without whose financial support Mr. J. could not have existed. When I add that he was a singularly gifted and cultivated man with a strong sense of justice and honour, you can imagine the moral suffering which this state of things inflicted upon him.

At the present time, as the dream tells us, the patient's sexual impotence has disappeared. Mr. J. has a mistress of a very different type from that of the prostitute. She is a charming woman whom he means to marry. The most that one could say is that she still has some last vestiges of the frigidity which characterized her at the beginning of their relationship but which has vanished bit by bit, as Mr. J. ceased to require it in order to retain some possibility of failure and as he became able to accept the femininity of his lover, who was formerly of a somewhat masculine type. In his social life Mr. J. is on the way to success for, firstly, he no longer experiences failure and, secondly, he possesses the energy and method which enable him to make himself a position.

But in the dream he feels that this is costing him too dear. He protests, as if the engine had been changed without his giving permission, i.e. in spite of his resistances. As in the case of the jet, he tries to find a means of getting back to the old ' engine ', which was more economical, used, that is to say, less libido, an infantile ' engine '. You see that he was still regarding success, good fortune and achievement as a calamity and the woman as something of a trap, a lottery which cost him dear. From another dream, which he had shortly afterwards, we shall see how the situation developed.

This dream was as follows : ' I was invited to a party at the house of a banker whose name is the same as ours. It is this banker who manages my affairs and makes things rough or smooth for me. I arrived with two cars, but I did not park them alongside of those of the other guests. The banker was surprised and remarked on it to me. Then somebody gave me a book which had just been published. I saw that it was an account of my case. It was not at all in my line and yet I felt I had collaborated with the author. Then I found myself on a road between two rocks very close together, a kind of arch. I went on and penetrated into the country on the other side of the rocks. I was anxious about B., who had stayed behind and could not follow me. B. is a friend with whom I lived in the colonies for a long time.'

I am sure that you will have perceived that the banker who makes things rough or smooth for him, i.e. who can punish Mr. J. by depriving him of his fortune, stands at one and the same time for the patient's father and his analyst. Mr. J. comes to him not with one motor but with two (an allusion to the eight-cylinder Ford engine). It is true that he does not dare as yet to park them beside the other cars. (Fear of being compared with others.) Then he accepts the publication of his case, i.e. he assents to his birth. (Mr. J. was familiar with my book *Misère de l'Homme*.) He agrees to act like the hero of that narrative. He passes between the two rocks, is born again and loses his friend B. (homosexuality), who cannot follow him onto this new ground.

To sum up : we see that in this dream Mr. J., though he remains timid, consents to shew himself with his cars, to expose his case to the public eye, i.e. to shew himself as he really is, and that he resigns himself to losing what he loves—homosexuality—in order to be born again and to enter on a new life.

In the case of Mr. Z. we have, I think, an exceedingly typical illustration of the same situation.

One day, Mr. Z. reported the following dream : ' I was in a room with oriental furniture and I was sitting at a low table with two Japanese men. The two held in their hands a weapon, a huge sword, which belonged to me and which they had managed to take away from me. It was pointing straight up into the air. I scented foul play and was afraid that the Japanese would turn this weapon against me. I resisted them with all my strength.'

To understand this dream you must know that the patient had suffered from a serious form of sexual and affective impotence. In his sexual life he substituted for the normal act the practice of causing a prostitute to give him enemas.

In his affective life this man, although he had a striking personality, did his very best to obliterate himself, both in his choice of work and the manner in which he played second fiddle to his partner. The latter, quite a commonplace type of man, enacted a rôle in Mr. Z.'s affairs which was out of all proportion to his own capacities.

This patient thinks of the Japanese as people who only make notes and assimilate things from others and who wish to make themselves ' big ', i.e. to extend their frontiers. He felt them to be at the opposite pole to Europeans, in fact almost a different species of human being. They were artful creatures, he thought, as artful as women. I must add that Mr. Z.'s wife, whom I know very well, might remind one of a Japanese : she is so discriminating, sophisticated and subtle. The Japanese, the patient went on to say, would attend army manœuvres and silently watch all that happened without missing the slightest detail—just like the analyst during analysis, one might add. To put the matter in a nutshell, the sword which the two Japanese were brandishing was Mr. Z.'s penis which, in this dream, was manifesting its newly acquired qualities : you will have understood in whose hands. In those of his wife and of the analyst as a woman-substitute. Mr. Z. is protesting that they have taken the weapon from him by force ; he is afraid of a counter-stroke, and puts up all the resistance he can. Now this dream occurred at the point when Mr. Z., his personality at last set free after a long analysis, was beginning to attain the maximum that a man may hope for in his environment. Moreover, although his speech had long suffered from a nervous impediment, he was now able to develop oratorical gifts of the first order and displayed an amazing energy and combative power, so that he became a person of real distinction : this, although formerly the mere presence of a striking personality in the company in which he

found himself would impel him to behave in a manner both humiliating and ridiculous and would completely prevent him from giving the smallest indication of his powers. With all this in our mind, the dream which I have just narrated will be seen to have a specially characteristic importance.

To conclude the list of my examples let me tell you shortly the dream of a woman who had suffered from a serious obsession, sexual frigidity and disturbances of character. The dream was as follows:

'I was on a bathing-beach, at some place in the South of France, and I took off my pyjamas to put on a dress, for it was the fashion to wear dresses there. Suddenly I noticed that something was happening in my husband's car, which was standing near us. A kind of huge parasol was opening behind the two front seats and I hastily got into the car to flatten it out. But somehow or other my dress suddenly caught fire and I was all in flames. I tried to pull it off but it was no use: it clung round my neck. I called for help, but my children and their nurse, who were there, did not move. I woke up—but I did not feel so much anxiety as one would expect after such a dream.'

I need not labour the details of this dream; it is easy to understand. The patient was asserting—quite openly (on the beach in the South of France)—that she was no longer frigid but, on the contrary, was in 'flames' after contact with the queer parasol which went up in her husband's 'car'. You see the meaning. What interests us here was her desire to pull off her dress and stifle the flames, i.e. the patient's resistance to orgasm. She calls for help and struggles as if to free herself from the devil, and she submits to all this simply because she cannot help it and because even the children, whom she used as a weapon against her husband, do not move. I am sure it is superfluous to multiply examples of these dreams. You see that they all refer to almost the same situation and express with remarkable clearness the patient's resistance to the transformation which we are bringing about and which he accepts only because it is too strong for him. In every case this resistance is the result of anxiety. The first patient was afraid to be seen with his aunt; he reproached himself, as he opened the letter, with committing an act of indelicacy. The second was afraid of using too much petrol. The third was afraid that they were turning on him the weapons which they had snatched from his grudging and timorous affectivity. The woman in the last dream called for help, to be saved from the flames. As you know, this fear is what we call in psycho-analysis fear of castration. Now this notion

may perhaps give rise to a misconception. Do we not feel that behind the dread of castration there frequently lurks the dread of death ? Is it not this which impels our patients, like Gribouille, to fling themselves into the water to avoid being wetted by the rain ? And is it not death that we must be able to face if we wish to be capable of living, loving, creating and struggling ? The dreams at the end of an analysis always turn on these problems. We have, for example, the following dream : ' I had to go off somewhere by train by myself, at four o'clock in the afternoon. I had taken my ticket and was quite ready, but people told me that I could wait another half-hour.' The patient who had this dream had suffered from a peculiarly disagreeable and humiliating anxiety-neurosis. The slightest cold in the head or the least pain served him as a pretext for giving up his work in order to nurse himself and be sorry for himself. At that period he expected his wife to provide a great part of their livelihood. At the time of the dream all this is a thing of the past. But the dreamer, though he feels ready, still hesitates, for the fact of parting from the analyst implies a long journey. You know the symbolic meaning of journeys in dreams.

Another patient, who had given me a great deal of difficulty, one day reported the following dream : ' I was at a hotel with one of my employees. I had to set out on a journey and I asked for my bill. The proprietor gave it to me and, though it was rather a large sum, I had enough money on me to pay it. I was about to do so when suddenly my employee, to whom I had shewn the bill and complained of the charges, turned on the proprietor and began to " slang " him. The proprietor lowered his charges more and more. He was so much overcome that he suspected blackmail and finally did not claim a single penny. I thought to myself that it was not my fault if he gave in to my servants.'

I believe that, as Mme. Sokolnicka very justly observed on one occasion,[4] it is the fear of death which explains most satisfactorily the violence of the reactions of certain patients when they have arrived at this point in their treatment. Sometimes this violence takes the most astonishing forms, and the problem is how we can best simplify for the patient this painful transition from one life to another, the renunciation of all his past, the surrender of a part of himself which he must allow to die ?

The technique of the treatment which I would recommend follows

[4] In a lecture at the Paris Psycho-Analytical Society in 1931.

no hard and fast rule. Of course a great deal of tact is needed, as Loewenstein shewed in one of his lectures. But tact does not exclude firmness, as you know: without this we are reduced to impotence. An analyst who was afraid of losing his patient's friendship would find himself awkwardly placed in respect of these particular difficulties, and so would one who depended on a patient or was afraid of quarrelling with him. More—he would fail in his task if he deprived the patient of the use of his combative faculty, so necessary for social and material success.

We analysts, if we are to do our proper work, must follow the magnificent example set by Freud. If we are determined to surmount our difficulties we must be able to meet the disapproval of the patient or of his relations and friends, as the case may be; it is a matter beyond our control. But, having said this, I must add that of course we must avoid needless difficulties and certainly not court them, as may sometimes happen. If we proceed on these lines we shall find that there is a great deal that we can do.

In some cases we must beware lest our patients go too fast, while still unable to bear the repercussions of their progress. Psychic parturition is a laborious process and takes time—a great deal of time. And I have had vexatious experiences when I tried to hustle my patients, for instance by fixing a date for the conclusion of the analysis. Again, I have made the mistake of demanding too much, with the result that the patient, not being strong enough to follow me, was forced to break off his analysis.

To shew you how one may sometimes proceed, let me give you an example. You know that the patient's most unwelcome manifestations of resistance express themselves in a need for punishment which is often quite insatiable and springs from the sense of guilt evoked in the course of the treatment. I had a patient of this kind who, like Baudelaire, could live only with creatures of low condition and who, following the example of the drunkard in the *Fleurs du Mal*, extinguished all higher feelings in himself by means of alcohol. When this man was beginning to abandon his low tastes and to move in polite society I advised him not to go too quickly, for every fresh success compelled him to go out on the ' razzle '—which was liable to lead to quarrels and even to blows with the police. Before his analysis, the patient, to please his parents, had once given up alcohol but only at the price of working like a galley-slave. One evening he went out in evening dress with an Englishwoman and had something to drink.

As he was going home in his car, he knocked down a pedestrian and killed him, although he himself was perfectly sober at the time. Next, he behaved so strangely that he succeeded in getting himself put into prison and the most complicated steps had to be taken to obtain his release. My advice to this patient was to smoke a little hashish from time to time: this often enabled him to escape the necessity for stupefying himself with alcohol.

In other cases, where the patients' progress expressed itself by exceptional success in business, I have advised them to make a sacrifice of money for the sake of their family or some good cause; this often has the effect of diminishing the negative reaction resulting from the need for punishment. Sometimes the patient courts punishment by trying to pick quarrels with the analyst. I believe that occasionally this would ease the situation, if we could provide him with the opportunity. But the means at our disposal are limited: silence, firmness, the waste of the analytic hour. On the other hand, our aim is to enable the patient to renounce the satisfaction of that need which craves for suffering as though it were a drug—something beneficent. 'Blessed be Thou, my God, Who givest suffering.' Again, there are cases in which the negative reaction resulting from cure is peculiarly painful, so much so that we sometimes wonder, when faced with such a situation, whether it would not be better to give up. Freud states that there are certain reactions of this sort which make it quite impossible to continue the treatment. So it is most important to take note of what is happening, in order to be able to give up in time, if we must do so.

So far we have specially considered that resistance on the part of the patient which is due to the loss of epinosic gain. As you know, this is the term which Freud uses to denote all the advantages which a patient may derive from his condition: protection and the boon of flight from life, castration, death, etc. From this point of view the resistance would be operating in accordance with an economic principle which determines the neurosis, and it would be conditioned by what we know as the anal complex, i.e. by the refusal to give up or sacrifice matter which has been digested or is dead, whether this be the fæces or the past, the subject's childhood.

We should, however, be mistaken if we thought that this was the principal source of resistance at the close of an analysis. There are other sources of which we must not lose sight if we are not to be outflanked by the resistance.

First, let us call to mind what was said at the beginning of this

paper about the defensive armour of a neurosis. Now this armour, whose business it is to secure the defence of the patient's affectivity, has not merely an economic but an æsthetic value. It is the product of an attempt at self-healing, in which the patient acts as his own physician ; and you know that this physician, like every other one, is apt to react with wounded vanity when doubts are cast on his therapeutic art. In other words, we encounter in the patient a rival who is at first somewhat sneering at times, next, as the treatment goes on, is friendly and tolerant of our efforts, but, at the point when our success declares itself and triumphs over his neurotic attempts at cure, becomes uneasy and morose and often exhibits his ill-temper, till finally there are actual ebullitions of jealousy when we have got the better of him and his resistances.

' My lovely suit of armour which everyone admired is broken up ', wrote one of my patients recently to a friend. ' I deceived everyone and no one else knew my wretchedness ; now I am a poor woman who must admit that she needs other people . . . ' In some cases this jealousy gives rise to a real desire to be avenged on the analyst. It is important to bear this in mind and, if possible, give it some satisfaction. Not the least arduous of the analyst's tasks is to make the patient forgive him his success and to handle with tact his ' colleague's ' susceptibility.

This susceptibility is the greater in proportion as the patient has made efforts to disguise, suppress and hide his emotions and it is wounded in proportion as he is ashamed of his feelings.

Besides the economic principle, then, it is clear that there is an æsthetic principle which may condition the patient's resistance. This helps us to realize that, at bottom, our adversary is none other than a genuine love of the patient's for his illness. And this is not all.

We see that, on the one hand, the patient's ' suit of armour ' has a protective function and represents an artistic triumph on his part. But we realize, on the other hand, that it actually assumes in his mind the value of a child, which he has conceived in his soul and in his body and bears about with him painfully but lovingly. Now is it not our ungrateful task to rob him of it ? I need hardly say that the duty is a peculiarly thankless one when the subject's whole life is, if I may say so, centred in his illness—an illness which, like some monstrous offspring, has absorbed all his vital energies and now contests their possession with us because it feeds on them and loves them.

As a rule, it is when we have wrested this offspring from him that

the patient indulges in outbursts of jealousy of all sorts: not merely the jealousy of a 'colleague' but also and above all that of a father and a mother.

Jealousy of the pride of paternity is a feeling hard to bear, and it is this, above all, which underlies the animosity felt by some patients against the analyst who has cured them. Are they not made wretched by our success, redounding, as it does, to our credit, while it deprives them of their only means of consolation in their infantile unhappiness?

The following dream is a good illustration of this point:

'I was enraged at the sight of a colleague of mine taking some children down to the duck-pond. He had got authority over them and I always fail in asserting my own.'

The dreamer was a certain professor whose neurotic armour had served particularly well to compensate him for the unhappiness (which he had experienced) of a spoilt child when two younger children are born after him. I will not labour the interpretation of the dream, for it is obvious.

In another case, the patient dreamt that he was on the frontier of one State on his way into another and had with him goods which he intended to sell. But the Customs officer insisted that he must leave them behind. The patient offered to pay the heavy sum which it would cost him to take them with him. The Customs official was inflexible. Finally, in order to resolve this conflict in the dream the patient appealed to the Head Officer, who rebuked his subordinate severely. To the patient it was not a question of submitting to an economy by leaving the goods behind, in order that he might pass from one State to another, i.e. in order that he might be cured. He refused to part with them out of *amour-propre*, for he made a point of doing his job well. Even in his neurosis he was conscientious and he would not allow the analyst to divert him from what he held to be a sacred duty. The patient's goods represented his father, an unfortunate person whose life had been a martyrdom and to whom he was greatly attached. And, further, they represented the analyst whom he did not wish to lose, when he went on into his new State.

Here we have the explanation of the fact that, just when analysis is crowned with success, the patients often shed tears and reproach us more or less vehemently, according to their character, with depriving them of everything—leaving them nothing at all. It is because, in resisting, they are at the same time defending the offspring of a love directed into an abnormal channel. For them our victory is often a

defeat, after which the satisfaction which life may offer them is but relative. ' It is my dreadful fidelity ', said one of my more gravely neurotic patients, ' that forces me to be such a b—— bore to you and prevents me from being cured. I would rather not be cured than see people not giving a damn for my resistances.' I learnt from this case the extent to which patients may consciously ally themselves with their resistances and remain ill simply to have the quixotic satisfaction of having baffled their physician.

For to baffle one's physician is surely to baffle life itself. Once the neurosis is gone, there is no way of sulking at life, one can no longer snap one's fingers at it and its demands, nor revolt against the laws of society, of life and of love, and without feeling responsible or blameworthy for one's attitude. The neurosis gone, the subject lacks the shelter of his illness, which disarms alike the human and the Divine judge. His illness vanished, he can no longer plead irresponsibility for his whims : life resuming its rights, the fun is over. And alas ! what a life he has to face, only too often : a life spoilt because irrevocably compromised by the neurosis and its attendant failure. Too often, also, his domestic relations are unhappy, because he was incapable of choosing the normal way to happiness. Or else he is saddled with an organic disease, if this has become one of the buttresses of his resistance—a disease which persists even when the neurosis is a thing of the past.

The social conditions under which we live tend less and less to meet our natural instinctual desires, and it becomes more and more difficult to succeed in a society where so much is topsy-turvy. So, for some people, to become normal again means a revolt against abnormal social conditions and sometimes this revolt involves conflict—war—when it becomes their sole outlet in life.

You see how complex is the significance of the various forms of resistance, especially those which we encounter at the end of analysis. Generally speaking, we must take care not to adopt too rigid an attitude towards patients who are unable or unwilling to follow us. We do not always know what we should do in their place. Happily for us, there are still a large number of cases in which we have every chance of success. And our knowledge of the difficulties which confront us helps us to find a way out, even in cases which seem desperate.

I regret that I have had to treat this subject in such a condensed form. But the time I had in which to prepare my paper did not admit of a more detailed treatment.

ON MAKING CONTACT WITH THE CHILD PATIENT

BY

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Psycho-analytic contact with the child is based on the understanding of his unconscious conflicts. Generally, when once the first correct interpretation of his play has been given, a contact is established which, if sustained by sufficient further interpretation and a really detached attitude on the part of the analyst on every occasion and in every emergency, will carry the child through a long analysis.

The child learns immediately that the analyst's purpose is to help him, and in a way in which people in the home, with all their love and care, cannot help. The analyst *knows what the child wants unconsciously* (or should know), and though he (or she) never gratifies these desires, or shews affection or even sympathy, once the child has realized this, he will often evince willingness to help in the analytic work, patience in face of the analyst's blindness to the meaning of his play, and a perseverance beside which that of the spider which inspired Robert Bruce to further effort pales.

He is intent on getting the gratifications of his phantasy-life in the analysis, and plays out his phantasies with that in view, but can tolerate the deprivation with which he meets only if the analyst has sufficient understanding of his unconscious needs and can support his anxiety even though extreme. But before this can happen, there is a pre-stage of social contact to be gone through.

The child's attitude towards this first meeting may depend, to some extent, on how he has been prepared for it, and it seems to me important (since the mother-child relationship is so close a one) that the mother's apprehension about the whole proceeding, if it exists, should receive attention first.

Handing a child over to an analyst for three-quarters of an hour daily is a very different matter from taking him to a physician for consultation. The mother (with rare exceptions) is shut out of the analytic room, and, for the sake of the treatment, is given very little information about what goes on there. All this savours of the mysterious and the possibly dangerous. The only other place to which she is denied entrance with her child is an operating theatre. When one adds to this the sacrifice of time, and sometimes therefore of domestic comfort entailed, it says much for the heroism of mothers in general that a child is ever brought for analysis at all.

The preliminaries over, there still remains the first direct contact to be made. I have been fortunate in never having to encounter manifest anxiety so great in this first moment as to make interpretation impossible ; and, where the mother has thought it likely that the child would scream and refuse to come in, by one means or another it has been possible to avoid such a situation.

Cases where the anxiety is not manifest, though easier to deal with in some ways, present their own problems in the making of contact.

Some months ago, a little boy of three and a half was brought to me mainly because he could not talk, and made practically no attempt to use his voice at all. He appeared to be almost oblivious of the people in his environment, though interested in inanimate objects, especially such things as door handles. For him other children and animals scarcely seemed to exist. Strangers thought him deaf, and his mother said that he did not take in what was said to him. If she wanted to put on his shoes she had to point to the shoes and to his feet, and he then seemed to understand, but he did not take in *words*. It looked as if treatment by verbal interpretation would be impossible.

On the first day he came in quite happily, without seeming to notice me at all. Exploration is his main activity, and his first impulse drove him to a room with a glass door. Here, judging from his lightning powers of observation, I decided to assume that he could understand words, and gave him his first interpretation in ordinary terms adapted to his age. From that moment the analysis has proceeded by the usual means of interpretation in speech.

A week later I wrote to his mother suggesting that his difficulties should not be discussed in his presence. In reply she said she was sure that he did not understand conversation. This was, I think, true in general, but he brought ample evidence to the contrary in regard to one specific thing the next day, by conducting a search through my writing-desk until he had found a packet of envelopes, then going to the front door and repeatedly opening and shutting the letter box. Could language speak more plainly in an attempt to tell me that he knew I had written to his mother ?

But for some weeks the veil was lifted in analysis only. As I handed him back to his mother each day his face would assume a comparatively wooden expression again.

Here was a case where real contact in ordinary life was out of the question. His mother was far more distressed by this withdrawal from his surroundings, which had been progressive since the age of

thirteen months, than by the fact that he did not talk; and in this, as we know, she shewed good insight into the condition.

If, as in this case, interpretation of the unconscious conflict does provide an avenue of approach, there must be some reason for this. One asks 'Why'? As far as I know, no other specialized means had been tried. This child had never, for example, been encouraged or allowed to smash and damage without hindrance. I do not think, however, that this, in itself, could have been a means of freeing him from his inhibitions, and for quite definite reasons. He had, at that time, no conscious *wish* to destroy property. He had a great desire to see as much as possible so as to be assured that it was *not* destroyed, and to touch all sorts of objects partly in order to prove, both to himself and others, that his touch was not destructive. He was driven, most strongly, by two impulses, viz. to open cupboards and every available door so as to see what was inside or behind them, and to shut and lock them again so that nothing could be taken out or put in without his knowledge.

For numerous and complicated reasons, his destructive impulses had remained on, or regressed to, such a primitive, early level that they could only be satisfied on the original (in the sense of living) object. When he is frustrated in the matter of getting reassurance of the type I have mentioned, he bites and scratches *me* freely. Only after a certain amount of interpretation could he displace his destructive activities on to inanimate things, and the first damage to *property* he did at analysis was to tear a piece of paper off the wall. Every advance in this direction was accompanied by resulting anxiety, which could only be resolved again by interpretation. The place in which he had done damage became a horror to him, and almost every day, for the first three months, he took refuge from the play-room for part of the hour in a sitting-room, where he had quickly discovered that I would not let him tear the wallpaper or bite the paint; in other words, where his impulse to destroy was under external restraint.

Since in this case interpretation of the unconscious conflict has been instrumental in bringing about a quite considerable measure of contact with the environment, it might be of interest to examine some of the reasons why ordinary contacts could not be made, and why such interpretations can help to make them. My observations are, of course, based on psycho-analytic theory. Lest that fact should seem to have *necessarily* impelled me towards certain findings, I should like to say that in child-analysis theory has no such power. All that is most

vital in the treatment depends upon the analyst's ability to understand what the child is unconsciously expressing by means of its play. This he (or she) may be able to do in the light of theory which is valid in the deepest sense, but will never do by theory alone.

Moreover, an adult patient may occasionally seize upon a piece of incorrect or incomplete interpretation and use it, unconsciously, as a defence against the analysis for a time, but a child will refute mistaken interpretation by a wearisome repetition of his play, or by other signs of tension, until such time as an interpretation sufficiently near the whole unconscious truth is found to resolve the anxiety.

Here we are brought sharply up against another possible barrier to psycho-analytic contact, viz. the analyst's own limitations in reading unconscious phantasy. One might as well expect to be aware of the movement of every individual leaf on a tree stirred by the wind as to perceive all the ramifications of the phantasy-life played out by any one child. Analysis can be but a selection of these, and every individual analyst may be predisposed to recognize certain types of phantasy more readily than others, but the saving grace, and the safeguard against over-emphasis on certain aspects of the child's play according to one's personal bias, is that it is the patient who decides (unconsciously) the direction in which the analytic work shall proceed, and who holds the key to his own unconscious life, although he cannot open the door unaided. No real analytic contact can be made unless the analyst is willing, and able, to follow where he leads.

My small patient unconsciously believes that his destructive powers, and those of other people, are omnipotent. His anxiety about this was not *conscious* when he came for treatment; it had been replaced by a combination of inapproachability and extreme restlessness. By almost every act this child is expressing unconscious anxiety about phantasied dangers, an anxiety so massive, and belonging to so early an age, that the very means of expression are limited by it. He cannot make contact with other people because he believes that he and they will destroy one another if he does. The only safety for either is something which prevents contact. This prevention he achieves, on the one hand (and again unconsciously), by a system of not seeing, not hearing and not understanding. His first concern is to prove that he is stronger than others so that he can control the hostility which he believes they feel towards him, and his second, to prove that they are stronger than he so that they can prevent his harming them. Between these two conflicting needs he is driven into a ceaseless round

of apparently meaningless activities (such as perpetually turning electric light switches on and off) which accomplish nothing, not even the assurance he is seeking, except for the moment.

I will choose just one illustration from this child's play to shew how understanding of the unconscious conflict touches this problem.

One day, a short time ago, I told him, at the beginning of the hour, that I was going to be away on the following day. He did one or two things to prove that he could get both objects and help from me still (viz. that I was not a dead or entirely bad mother even though leaving him), then, towards the end of the hour, hastily stuffed as much as possible of a torn-up paper pad into an empty tin and took it home—symbolically devouring me in order to keep me with him.

Great as the child patient's fear may be of the power he unconsciously believes he has to tear the analyst in pieces and swallow her, it is overcome, not so much, I think, by the fact that he does it symbolically and can at the same time assure himself that she is alive and well and standing there outside him and that his sadistic impulse is not effectual (though all this too plays its part), but above all by the fact that she knows *the full intent* of his unconscious impulse, the cause of his anxiety—which he himself did not yet know—and can explain it to him. It is not destruction allowed in an unafraid environment that counts *most*, for it is not destruction as such, but what it means to him symbolically, and the overwhelming anger and revenge he unconsciously expects to elicit in return, that the child himself fears.

Interpretation of the unconscious phantasy is effectual in overcoming the fear because the child finds that the very person against whom, temporarily, his supposedly omnipotent power is directed, *knows all about what he means to do with it*, and yet neither shews fear nor takes revenge.

This is an altogether new experience for any child, and one which, tested again and again in all sorts of situations and crises, can at length convince him that his fears are but phantasies, and can so alter the appearance of his reality world as to make contact with it possible. It is no longer peopled with the powers of evil but with human beings.

SOME FACTORS DETERMINING FIXATION AT THE 'DEUTERO-PHALLIC PHASE' [1]

BY

THERESE BENEDEK

LEIPZIG

In a recent work [2] Jones discusses the problems connected with the phallic phase. He distinguishes as the 'deutero-phallic phase' the highly exaggerated and narcissistically cathected phallic phase of which a particularly strong motive is the warding off of the female genitals. This phase he holds to be a neurotic compromise. If it plays a leading part in the subject's later sexual development, it amounts to a perversion in Sachs's [3] sense of the term and often results in homosexuality.

The case which I propose to discuss in this paper is particularly instructive in this connection. Not only does it corroborate Jones's hypothesis, but its structure throws light on certain factors which may lead to fixation at the phallic phase.

In the accounts of manifest homosexuality which are contained in psycho-analytical literature two main types have hitherto been described. In the one type the subject's mother-identification, with its narcissistic cathexis, causes him to seek for love-objects resembling himself: he desires so to love them as he himself would have wished to be loved by his mother. In the second type of the perversion the object-choice again follows the lines of mother-identification, but, owing to a greater passivity and a firmer anal fixation, the subject aims at passive surrender to his father. He desires to be loved by his father as his mother was loved. Freud has described yet a third form of manifest homosexuality, and this is deeply coloured by the subject's masculine identifications. In these cases rivalry which has been overcome and aggressive impulses which have become repressed are often combined with the typical conditions known to us.[4] In this third type the masculine identifications play a greater part. In a certain sense it is to this type that the case now before us belongs.

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[1] Read before the German Psycho-Analytical Society, November 18, 1933.

[2] Ernest Jones: 'The Phallic Phase', this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, 1933.

[3] Hanns Sachs: 'Zur Genese der Perversion', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IX, 1923.

[4] Freud: 'Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, Paranoia and Homosexuality' (1922), *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, p. 242.

It illustrates with such admirable clearness the structure of this variety of homosexual perversion that a detailed study of it will well repay our trouble.

The patient, a man of twenty-eight, was in a state of acute anxiety when he came to me. He was deeply depressed and greatly agitated by the idea that a man whom he had recently met in the street might know that he was a homosexual. Moreover, he was afraid that this man might say so to him in public or even in his mother's presence: might attack him, that is to say. This paranoid anxiety and condition of phobia he found intolerable, and it so much intensified the wish, which he already cherished, to be free of his homosexuality that he determined to present himself for treatment.

In appearance and figure the patient had something slightly feminine about him, but neither in his bearing nor his dress could one detect anything characteristic of the homosexual: rather the contrary. His inconspicuous clothes and demeanour and his way of speaking struck one as masculine, as did his character, which appeared to be of the obsessional type, pedantic, correct and self-controlled.

The patient's anamnesis was as follows. He was an only child. His parents' marriage was outwardly happy, but he recollected that his father always took care to insist that in their married life his will was law. Nevertheless, as the patient remembered at the outset of his analysis, he had given all his love to his father. He described this feeling as follows: 'In his presence I was at peace, blissful, good; I always felt safe'. He remembered how urgent was the affection which drew him to his father. He imitated him in every trivial detail. His father did not eat chocolates or cakes, and this was reason enough for the patient to refuse to touch either throughout his childhood—a notable achievement for a child, about which I shall have more to say presently. So long as his father lived no other man made any impression on the boy; his schoolmasters left him indifferent. To him his father was the ideal man.

When the boy was ten years old, his father fell ill (of metasyphilis) and died a year later. Since then, except for a few terms when he was a student, the patient had lived with his mother. As a child he was often ill and used to suffer from chills and swollen glands. Although he had so much illness and was nursed by his mother, he seemed to have no recollection of any exchange of tenderness between them. She struck him as severe, cold and distant, although he realized that his own shyness with her might be responsible for their very correct

but strained relation. Even at the present time his mother treated him in many respects as a child ; he still deferred to her will and was very dependent on her.

At the age of eleven the patient was initiated by his swimming-master into the practice of mutual masturbation. The second man to play the part of seducer in his life was a middle-aged workman, ' a man in corduroys '. The patient believed that many of the conditions which were now essential for his love-life had their origin in his relation with this man. When he was seventeen, he fell in love during his dancing-lessons (which he detested) with a certain young girl, but this came to nothing. At the age of eighteen he fell in love with a school-friend. This was an enthusiastic calf-love, but the youth in question was already in love with another boy, and after this disappointment the patient withdrew into himself. From that time on he realized that he was definitely homosexual. He was in despair about it : he used constantly to go to church and wrestled with this tendency in himself, which, however, generally found gratification in the following manner.

It seemed to him that as a child, after his father's death, he was always looking for someone on whom he could lean and who would give him protection and security from his anxiety and disquiet. This was why he constantly sought after men who impressed him as ' masculine '. ' If I throw myself into the suit which such a man has worn, I have a great accentuation of libido and feel much more masculine.' But it was not indispensable that there should be such a ' suit '. As time went on he grew more and more ' masculine ' and rejected everything suggestive of femininity both in his own dress and that of his sexual partners.

With the exception of his first and single love (a remarkable thing in a person like the patient, who was by no means devoid of feeling) he had loved nobody, man or woman ; and during his analysis he came to realize the nature of his relations with men. He described them as follows : ' I certainly don't *love* the other man ; what I feel is envy and jealousy ; I feel like that because he is normal and capable of love for women ; I attribute to him all the qualities which I lack but which seem to me enviable. I envy and hate him and I do not know when this hatred and pugnacity change into love or how and why they give rise to sexual feeling. I never feel as if I were a woman nor do I surrender myself like a woman. I hate passivity : a passive man is not a man at all. He is repulsive to me and sexually he does not excite me in the least. And I am not passive either. If I could do

as I liked I should always start the sexual act with a fight, not from sadistic or masochistic impulses but because I want to try my strength. I picture the man whom I love as strong, powerful, good, protective and sexually potent, and at the same time I hate him because he is superior to me. I don't want to get the better of him from a sadistic motive, but I want to *grow* through my relation with him : by mastering him I hope to become more than I was. I know that one cannot add to one's own stature nor lift oneself above one's level ; one cannot become more than one actually is ; and yet, every time I perform the sexual act, I have the feeling that I want, as it were, to take the man, the masculine, into myself. It hardly ever happens that I find the kind of sexual object that I look for or that the act quite comes up to my desires ; but, whenever it has been so, I have had the feeling that it strengthened me, and my usual depression has left me.'

Generally, however, the patient's sexual partners were not so masculine as he hoped and required. He then used to try to supply what was lacking in them by his imagination, and he described how sometimes, when he was greatly stimulated, he succeeded in playing both parts—that of the masculine father and that of the child. The act then signified : 'A child is loved by his father who confirms him in his masculinity and makes him a man like himself'. Or : 'An elder brother is fought with and incorporated in order that the younger one may become his equal.' 'When I am greatly excited, I am both at once—the child and the adult, and all I need to borrow from my sexual partner is his erotogenic zone.' The 'erotogenic zone' was always the penis.

The only thing which interested him in his partner was the penis or, possibly, the upper part of the body. The buttocks and thighs, which play a part with other homosexuals, had no significance for him. In every case the sexual act was performed from in front and he maintained a constant observation of his partner. He did not only care about the bodily characteristics of the object ; what interested him really more was to observe the whole process of excitation in him. His libido was invariably confined to the act itself : he could feel no tenderness, but felt obliged to isolate himself and withdraw at once. His sexual relations were always quite transitory. His desiderata in love were infinitely complicated so that they could never be fulfilled. His fixation caused him to long for his father : what he desired was the complete heterosexual man, not in order that he might be loved by him but in order that he might, through him, become truly masculine.

Thus his sexuality remained fixated on this narcissistic-phallic gratification ; the love-object itself was a matter of indifference. His search was an endless one. The same man had not the power to stimulate him on a second occasion, because there was no longer the exciting question which of the two was the stronger. If the other shewed a tendency to cling to him and endeavoured to keep up their relation, he felt that such dependence was feminine and lost interest in him : one weaker than himself could never be his sexual object, for his choice was determined by his narcissistic identification with a stronger man. This narcissistic identification was wholly concentrated on the penis, so that the anal zone, which in other types invariably plays a part in homosexual object-choice was in this case of no importance.

There was yet another point in which this patient displayed a striking difference from other homosexuals. From the economic point of view one of the most important and characteristic effects of the homosexual perversion is that the subject is spared the conflict due to ambivalence towards a rival of his own sex and that consequently no sense of guilt need arise. In this respect the patient differed markedly from other homosexuals ; in him the perversion apparently failed to perform this economic function. He was not spared the conflict with regard to his father : on the contrary, he repeated it every time he had sexual intercourse. It was as though he worked himself up on each occasion to bring the conflict to an issue by overcoming his rival, incorporating him and through him becoming a man. The repetition of the conflict due to ambivalence always represented a fresh attempt to make good the identification with his father which he had failed to achieve.

In the patient's mind women were altogether free from sexuality. He did not, like many homosexuals, consciously regard them as lower creatures on account of their having no penis ; on the contrary. His own sexuality caused him so much suffering that he regarded the lack of a penis as a moral asset. It made women impregnable and elevated them to a higher, better world, from which he himself was excluded. He believed, on the one hand, that sexuality in every form was repugnant to women and that their attitude to the sexual activities of men was merely critical. On the other hand, he thought that women loved only such men as were manlier than himself, men of the kind that he desired for his masculine love-objects. From the fact that this is what ' woman ' meant to him we see at once that she—the mother—played a leading part in his super-ego.

Having described in detail the perversion itself I will proceed to the essential points of the psycho-analytical material.

In this case, as usual, dread of the vagina and denial of the female genitals with its suggestion of castration formed the nucleus of the perversion. Repression of the idea of the female genitals was accompanied by an unusually strong inhibition of the scoptophilic and exhibitionistic instinct, and to this we devoted special attention at the beginning of the analysis. The patient had in him a great deal of sublimated scoptophilia: he was keenly interested in painting, and observation in the sphere both of nature and of art was one of his chief outlets. It was therefore remarkable that he professed scarcely even to see women in the street. His scoptophilia was inhibited in every direction; in regard to exhibitionism the inhibition was mainly in relation to women: he could not endure to be looked at by them. Even at a cinema he was uncomfortable if there was a scene in which a woman undressed. He disliked everything which suggested nudity and he also felt an aversion to women's clothes and especially their underclothes. On the other hand, he took a decided interest in men's dress. At the age of ten he put on some of his father's underclothes, in order to masturbate in them (identification), and he remembered that, long before that, he had been interested in them. As time went on, men's underclothes assumed an increasingly important place in his sexual life. The more masculine and coarse the garments, the better. At first, he put this down to the determining influence of his relation to one of the men who seduced him ('the man in corduroys'). But the analytical material shewed quite plainly that his interest in the masculine appearance of his love-objects and in underclothes of a particularly masculine and coarse type served the purpose of an escape from the thought of women. He did not, however, develop a genuine fetishism. In spite of the pleasurable tone and the erotic effect of the underclothing, it was not a substitute for the woman's missing penis; rather it was a defence against the anxiety called up when he was forced to think of women.

The patient's scoptophilia had not always been so strongly inhibited as, at the beginning of his analysis, he insisted had been the case throughout his childhood. Once we had analysed his severe castration-experience, the scoptophilia of his earliest years came to light. He remembered that his father used laughingly to call him a rascal because, at home or elsewhere, he would press up to girls or women and try to peep under their skirts. This first, blissful period of childhood lasted

till he was between three and a half and four, when he underwent a specially intense castration-trauma. He suffered from a phimosis, which from infancy gave him a great deal of trouble. He still remembered how, every time he urinated, there had to be great preparations and how his penis had to have special treatment—bathing with warm water and applications of ointment, etc. We may suppose that the care and attention that his mother devoted to his penis early roused in him a strong penile erotism. His early infantile sexuality was thus characterized by a relatively uninhibited preoccupation with his penis and also by an interest in the female genitals carried on through the agency of his active scoptophilia.

When the patient was three and a half, he was operated upon for the first time for his phimosis. The operation was unsuccessful and, after a period of painful treatment, it had to be repeated and only then was he relieved from his trouble. This operation had a profound effect on his development. There was an immediate change in his character and in his relation to his parents. He recollected that after the operation he would no longer get into bed with his mother but only with his father. The earlier, more normal relation between mother and son was disturbed and inhibited ; he turned away from her and devoted himself exclusively to his father. We can easily imagine that the repression of his scoptophilic instinct dated from this period. His development in the opposite direction was very striking. He remembered that, when he was five or six, he took a great interest in all the men who came to the house. He wanted to know if they were married and had any children, etc. He was interested in sexual matters and in the penises of these men, but he no longer wanted to think about the sexuality of women. In talking of his emotional life at that period he represented himself as having been ' dependent upon men '. He sought to find protection and love in the being, stronger than himself, who had not been castrated and who thus enabled him to forget his own castration. The result of such a situation is generally a purely passive attitude towards the father,[5] but in this case not only was the mother-identification repudiated consciously but, even in the unconscious, its acceptance was not of such a kind as to involve a definitively passive attitude towards the father. It is true that he

[5] The fact of having been castrated, denied in consciousness, is unconsciously accepted : it is the basis of an identification with the mother, and this carries with it a passive attitude towards the father.

chose his father as a protective love-object, superior to himself, but the choice was based on a narcissistic identification with him: 'You and I, who both have a penis, belong together.' His father, the man with the penis intact, became at one and the same time his ideal ego and his love-object. This identification came to occupy a central place in his mental economy. First, the exaggerated emphasis on his comradeship with his father and the exclusion of his mother from their intimacy represented a defence against castration-anxiety and a denial of his own femininity. The more intense was the castration-anxiety (femininity) which had to be kept at bay, the stronger grew the narcissistic cathexis of the subject's own penis and of his father's. At the same time, the narcissistic importance of his father's penis, its significance as his ideal ego, produced a sense of inferiority. The result was a narcissistic instinctual tension: the subject aimed at becoming his father's equal through incorporation of his ideal ego, i.e. of his father's penis. In my description of his perversion I have already shewn that the sexual act served to relieve this tension and to complete the imperfect identification.[6]

After the operation for phimosis (when the patient was five or six years old), he began to masturbate to the accompaniment of phantasies. In these he imagined that he had older brothers who loved and protected him, and he obtained his gratification in this way. The phantasies correspond exactly to the mechanisms postulated by Freud for certain forms of homosexual perversion in the paper already quoted.[7] Freud says that the conflict due to ambivalence towards older brothers finds its solution in an identification: once this has taken place, the brother can be loved. In his masturbation phantasies the patient substituted for his father brothers, who were what he would have liked to be himself, what he perhaps might have been but for the shock of castration. But the tendency, indicated in these phantasies, actually to love an older and protective brother was never translated into reality, for in actual life substitutes for older brothers merely intensified the conflict due to ambivalence and therewith the sense of guilt. To escape this, the narcissistic cathexis of the ego was increased and

[6] I would draw special attention to the marked tendency to incorporation expressed in the patient's sexual acts. This is characteristic of his oral fixation and at the same time shews that oral incorporation represents the origin of the conflict due to ambivalence.

[7] Freud: 'Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, Paranoia and Homosexuality', (1922), *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, p. 242.

the patient withdrew himself from real love-relations. But in phantasy his identification with an older brother, i.e. with his father, was successful, and in this way the conflict was in phantasy resolved. The phantasy performed two functions: it relieved the tension of the conflict and it completed the imperfect identification. Later, in the fully developed perversion, the patient was once more ceaselessly striving to achieve complete identification; and thus the phantasy accomplished more than did the actual perversion. The economic function thus performed by the masturbation phantasy led to the persistence of masturbation, even in later phases of his life, side by side with the fully developed perversion.

Analysis revealed that, in early childhood and even for a time after the operation, the patient took an interest in the women with whom he came into contact. During the treatment, we saw, as it were, re-enacted the way in which women, who played a part in his childhood and so represented mother-substitutes, profoundly affected the development of his homosexuality. For example, rather late in the analysis, when he was already regularly having intercourse with women and was less troubled by the perversion, a visit from a cousin caused him to relapse. She had played a part in his childhood. He used often to spend his holidays with relations and this elder cousin had looked after him a great deal, really taking the place of a nurse. He had been very fond of her and ' was going to marry her '. He had forgotten all this; but meeting her again was enough to bring about a relapse. His cousin was a mother-imago: when he was in her company, his sense of impotence and his dread of women, the dread of his own femininity, increased and he took refuge in homosexuality. Thus, before our very eyes, the mechanism which had produced the inversion was recapitulated.[8]

There was another way in which the central importance of the mother in this perversion repeatedly manifested itself. Whilst the analysis was going on, it often happened that the patient would have a sudden increase of anxiety and disquiet, and that his anxiety would be projected into the idea that I have already mentioned: namely, that a man might attack him in his mother's presence, so that she would discover his perversion. From this paranoid idea it is obvious that his anxiety really had reference to his mother and was merely displaced on to the man to whom he was otherwise sexually indifferent.

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[8] Freud: *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie.*

When the sense of guilt engendered by his homosexuality caused his dread of his mother to become unbearable, it discharged itself in this symptom. The acuteness of the anxiety and the structure of the symptom were evidence of his super-ego anxiety towards his mother.

The patient's whole character was coloured by his dependence on women. A man's unfavourable judgement never cast him down ; he did not particularly care what men thought or what was their opinion of him, and so he did not suffer from inhibitions or anxiety in his work. The only thing he dreaded was the criticism of women, which would bring his weakness home to him. It was not simply dread of impotence or narcissistic anxiety at the thought of ridicule [9] : it was super-ego anxiety. Always he saw himself with the mercilessly critical eyes of the woman for whose love he was not good enough but whose love he must win. So love assumed for him the guise of a task. He could hardly imagine that it might relieve the perpetual tension and give him confidence in himself—so great were his sense of inferiority and his dread of women. His homosexual activities were a struggle to gain self-confidence, a fight for equality with the ego-ideal, a straining towards the unconscious goal of being worthy of women. He dared not actually fight to win them, for he believed that his very survival depended on victory. All these ideas are so familiar that it seems almost superfluous to describe them in such detail. I am doing so because I want to convey to you the impression which I received so vividly from this analysis, namely, that the whole severity of the patient's super-ego came from his relation to his mother. The anxiety originally mobilized by her lack of a penis became even more severe when it became fear of his super-ego, for then it was always with him. This super-ego fear of his mother was transferred to all other women ; and so to a greater or lesser degree they came to represent the super-ego and for this reason could not serve as sexual objects.[10]

Since the publication of Freud's *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* it has been recognized that the homosexual perversion tends to occur in persons who have grown up without a father. In such cases it is the mother alone who inflicts upon the subject all those frustrations which so vitally affect his development and she is the sole authority to impose commands upon him. In the light of what we know to-day

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[9] Horney : 'The Flight from Womanhood', this JOURNAL, Vol. VII, 1926.

[10] Melanie Klein : *The Psycho-Analysis of Children*, 1932.

we should express the situation thus : in our patient's case, as in others where the structure of the perversion is similar, the mother becomes the nucleus of the super-ego.

Now, how does this type of super-ego develop ? And how does fixation take place at this level of super-ego development ? Let us see whether our study of the present case yields us any more exact knowledge on these points.

At the age of ten the patient had lost his father and thereafter was brought up by his mother alone, but his development had received this bent before his father's death and of course the super-ego was already formed by that age.

I have described in some detail how the change in the patient's mental evolution occurred after the phimosis operation. The four-year-old boy turned away from his mother as love-object and introjected her in consequence of the castration-trauma. It is a remarkable fact that, although he was twice operated upon by men, the boy did not relate the shock of castration to his father but to his mother. We should conclude from this that one and the same individual may react differently to the perception of the female genitals at different phases of his development and that the nature of his reaction is determined by various factors.

Apart from the subject's biological bisexuality, which affects the facility with which he identifies himself with his mother and the strength of that identification, it will further depend on the phase of libidinal development to which he has attained whether his perception of the female genitals has a crippling effect and results in a definitive identification with his mother or whether he tries to overcome his anxiety with all the erotic means at his disposal. For instance, if the castration-trauma (the perception of the female genitals) occurs during the anal phase, when penile erotism is as yet but little developed, identification with the mother will take place at the anal level. Fixation, too, will occur at this level, and the subject's reaction to the mother-identification may very likely be different from that which would occur at other levels of libidinal development. Owing to the greater passivity of anal libido, identification with the mother is less likely to be repudiated and, in the form of a passive attitude towards the father, will more readily find expression in real life.

From the patient's analysis it was quite certain that, before his operation, the child had known of the existence of the female genitals and had taken a lively erotic interest in them and that he finally

turned away from them only when large quantities of anxiety had been mobilized by the trauma. He then projected his castration-anxiety on to his mother, whom he already supposed to have been deprived of her penis.[11]

Psycho-analytical literature contains many descriptions of the way in which the perception of the female genitals brings home to boys the possibility of castration. Much less attention is paid to the manifestations of the child's scoptophilic instinct, which as sexual curiosity is familiar to us all. When a child takes every opportunity of touching and looking at the genitals of girls and women, it is very often regarded as a perverse kind of play, for which he is scolded. Why cannot all children be content with a single discovery of the existence of the female genitals? As a rule this behaviour on the child's part is interpreted as an urgent desire to prove that women, after all, have got a penis. But that explains only the causal aspect of this form of infantile sexual curiosity; from the economic standpoint his scoptophilia is a form of sexual activity and helps him to master the shock of castration. Just as the economic function of play is to master situations productive of and tension produced by anxiety, so scoptophilic activity has the economic function of overcoming the dread of the female genitals.

We have seen that, as a child, the patient manifested his scoptophilic interest in the plainest fashion, and we may assume that his sexual curiosity—the playful wish, engendered by these impulses, to peep at and try to subjugate women—was also an attempt to get over the shock of castration. It was while he was in this phase of activity that he underwent the operation which so enormously intensified the castration situation. Now, it seemed, he was castrated: he was like his mother; and he rebelled against this identity.[12] In order not to

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[11] This involved a radical shifting of the patient's object-libido. From now on, all his anxiety was centred in his mother, his libido was withdrawn from her and she was introjected. His father, on the other hand, not only typified the possessor of the penis, with whom the boy could narcissistically identify himself; he became also the object of the libido withdrawn from the mother and projected on to him: he was the protector, the object of all the child's endearments, mother as well as father. The whole of the libido was concentrated on a single object—the father with his maternal love, who in the unconscious represented at the same time the mother with the penis.

[12] The revolt against identification with the mother was probably due to the fairly strong narcissistic cathexis of the penis to which he had attained and followed on the activity which I have described above.

be reminded of it he inhibited his scoptophilic instinct, denied the existence of the vagina, ceased to notice women at all and devoted all his love to his father, with whom he tried to identify himself narcissistically.

In this case the consequence of the castration-trauma was precisely the opposite of that which we are accustomed to regard as the normal termination of the Œdipus complex. Normally, when a child renounces that complex because of his fear of castration, he introjects the father, who then forms the nucleus of the super-ego, ' which takes its severity from the father '.[13]

' Variations in the sequence and the linking up of these processes must be very significant in the development of the individual '.[14] In the special case we are studying it appears that there were factors which did so modify the formation of the super-ego, for we have noted that the patient's Œdipus complex never reached its full development. It seems as though the classical termination of the Œdipus complex is determined by particular factors in the subject's penile sexuality.

Whereas the development of vaginal sexuality has never been taken for granted and we have had to seek for and discover the sources of vaginal erotism, the development of penile erotism has been but little discussed in psycho-analytical literature. The penis is the leading zone, which certainly exercises genital primacy at puberty and discharges the greater part of the libido, but analytical observation of adults and direct observation of children suggests that, in earliest childhood, the penis (in spite of the occasional occurrence of spontaneous erections) is still largely a passive pleasure-organ, and that the early infantile evolution of penile sexuality passes through various phases before the phallus can become the vehicle of the Œdipus wish and the subject can attain to the active, thrusting phase, in which his aim is to penetrate his mother's vagina. This is not the place in which to discuss whether, in order that he may reach this stage, a certain amount of oral libido must be displaced on to the penis, or the activity of the scoptophilic instinct must infuse the penis, or whether yet other processes are necessary. The essential point is simply this: that the active, thrusting phase of penile erotism must

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[13] Freud: ' The Passing of the Œdipus-Complex ' (1924), *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, p. 273.

[14] Freud: *Loc. cit.*, p. 275.

be reached before the Œdipus complex can attain its final development. And *only* this final development will bring about the classical termination of the Œdipus complex. Perhaps the biological basis of the father-identification is the now active, thrusting penis, whose aim is identical with that of the father's penis. The Œdipus wish itself acquires thereby psychic reality, and accordingly the rivalry with the father becomes more intense because more psychically real. It is only now that the Œdipus wish becomes an offence against the father, so that it is possible to project on to him the subject's castration-anxiety. The penis must now be protected from the father because it is from him that punishment is anticipated. It is the anxiety felt for the penis in this phase which breaks up the Œdipus complex. Identification with the father, which follows a biological pattern, prepares the way for his final introjection, when he becomes the nucleus of the super-ego. He is now the representative of moral law and, as such, can no longer be a sexual object. On the other hand, the anxiety-cathexis of the mother diminishes and, in the next phase of penile activity, she may become a sexual object.

We have now to decide whether the reason suggested—namely, the occurrence of the castration-trauma at a particular period in the subject's life—is sufficient to account for the severity of the maternal super-ego and the dread of the mother, or whether we must assume that there are even earlier phases of super-ego-formation which have had a decisive influence. Melanie Klein [15] and Jones [16] take the view that it is the original oral aggression against the mother which determines the dread of the mother once and for all and is the reason of the significance subsequently assumed by her in the super-ego. Our present case does not afford enough material for us to make up our minds on this point. In view of his markedly ambivalent attitude towards his mother it was quite natural that the patient should have a number of aggressive phantasies relating to her. But the analysis did not go deep enough for us to decide whether these phantasies in fact originated in the oral-sadistic phase or dated from a later period and had been displaced on to that phase. The history of this case suggests that the patient's aggressive impulses towards his mother arose only as a reaction to his dread of her, i.e. sprang from a transfor-

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[15] Melanie Klein: *The Psycho-Analysis of Children.*

[16] Ernest Jones: 'The Phallic Phase', this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV 1933.

mation of inhibited sexual aggression. For analysis showed that, up till the time of the castration-trauma, his relation to his mother was normal but that, afterwards, he was altogether too good—a child suffering from inhibitions. Nevertheless, I would point out that, even in childhood, there were marked oral traits in his character. An important point in the development of his oral libido was his renunciation of chocolate and cake. He gave them up in order to emphasize his identification with his father, but this oral frustration cannot have been simply an imitation of his father: the ascetic energy directed against his own ego seems to have fulfilled an important economic function. He refused to incorporate sweets, the symbols of the breast and the penis, and his perfectly conscious emphasis on this renunciation had the same economic value as that of a screen-memory.[17] It implied: 'You are certainly not a woman, you have no passive oral erotism; and also you are not in any way guilty, for you have no active, aggressive oral erotism'. We may assume that this renunciation of sweets was equivalent to a symptom. It gave the patient the gratification of identifying himself with his father while it represented the denial of the oral-sadistic phase necessary for such an identification.

We are interested, however, not only in the patient's oral sadism but in the fate of his aggressive instinct in general and its particular manifestations.

First, let us examine his aggression from the point of view of the instincts motivating the perversion itself. The patient's type of homosexuality has been characterized by Freud as being an overcompensation for hate. The patient himself has told us with how much conscious hatred and with how much envy he entered upon his love-activities. In the cases mentioned by Freud the subjects had passed through conflicts due to ambivalence towards real brothers and had got over them by means of identification. Our patient, however, had no real masculine object except his father for his ambivalence. His childhood, after the castration-trauma, was deeply imbued with love for his father and, as I have pointed out more than once, the whole of his anxiety and aggression was, from that time on, projected on to his mother. We may well ask what was the source

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[17] Sachs: 'Zur Genese der Perversion', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IX, 1923. Fenichel: 'Zur ökonomischen Funktion der Deckerinnerungen', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. XIII, 1927.

of the marked ambivalence which constantly manifested itself when he performed the sexual act. The conflict thus expressed in his sexuality was the repetition of his infantile ambivalence towards his father, which had been repressed by reason of the dread of castration at the time when the child took refuge with his father in order to escape this same dread. We are therefore concerned with an early infantile oral and anal aggressiveness which, as time went on, developed in spite of repression into a conflict due to ambivalence, since it was linked up with his narcissism. The greater the narcissistic cathexis of the penis, the greater the desire to possess a powerful genital organ so as to subjugate women with it. Thus his ambivalence increased as a result of the convulsive effort to reach a level to which in childhood he had not been able to attain. This was the meaning and the mechanism of the aggression which found its outlet in the perversion itself.

Not only is the strength of the patient's aggressive instinct noticeable in the sexual act itself (i.e. in combination with the sexual instincts): it makes itself felt also in the severity of his super-ego. Freud [18] has demonstrated the origin of that severity and also the fact that the formation of the super-ego is preceded by regression. He shows, further, that regression itself is a process involving the defusion of instincts. After our patient had undergone the castration-trauma, there ensued a profound regression which powerfully affected the development of his libido and of his ego. The aggressive impulses liberated by the defusion of his instincts were distributed between the super-ego and the ego. We have already considered the resulting severity of the former. The point to which I would now call attention is the aggression located within the ego, for in this case we can observe it very clearly.

According to the theory of perversion,[19] its economic function, like that of screen-memories, is to retain repressed instinctual impulses in the unconscious. Part of the subject's infantile sexuality is fixated and appropriates a very large quantity of the available libido; this over-emphasis of the conscious instinct enables the ego to repress another part of the infantile sexuality. In the work from which I

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[18] Freud: *The Ego and the Id* (1923), and *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*, 1926.

[19] Sachs: 'Zur Genese der Perversion', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IX, 1923.

have already quoted, Jones adopts this hypothesis and shows that we must attribute the same significance to the narcissistically cathected deutero-phallic phase as is attributed by Sachs to the perversions in general and by Fenichel to screen-memories.[20] The case of homosexual perversion discussed in such detail in this paper is a good illustration of this proposition. We have seen that the deutero-phallic phase persisted because the castration-trauma led to an early formation of the super-ego and checked the further development of the Œdipus complex and, therewith, the development of the normal super-ego.

We must now consider whence the ego derives the energy necessary for the maintenance of the anti-cathexis. Only when the ego is capable of a strong anti-cathexis can femininity be denied in the manner we have described. According to the psycho-analytical psychology of the ego, the energic cathexis of the ego has its source in desexualized libido.[21] This desexualization occurs in various phases. The first phase begins with regression, accompanied by defusion of instincts. The aggression thus liberated remains in part in consciousness, ready to be mobilized in the form of free aggression, and in part allies itself with the super-ego in the Ucs. But that is not all. A third part—and this is the point to which I particularly wish to draw attention—is diverted from its original aim and is introduced into the structure of the ego. Just as those instinctual representatives which are kept at bay by the various defence-mechanisms lose their libidinal cathexis, so the aggressive instincts may be diverted from their original aim and subsequently cathect the perceptual plane or serve as the source of the energy required for anti-cathexis.[22] The more of this aim-deflected aggression the ego has at its disposal the greater is its capacity for anti-cathexis and the more intact does the personality remain.

Such a utilization of aggression (which is, indeed, typical of the obsessional character) appears to be one of the conditions determining the continued existence of the deutero-phallic phase. The latter, if, following Jones, we regard it as being cognate to a screen-memory, can only persist when the subject possesses an ego that is in keeping with the obsessional character and is susceptible to anti-cathexis.

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[20] Fenichel: 'Zur ökonomischen Funktion der Deckerinnerungen', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. XIII, 1927.

[21] Freud: *The Ego and the Id.*

[22] Nunberg: *Allgemeine Neurosenlehre auf psychoanalytischer Grundlage*, 1932.

To sum up. We first traced our patient's libidinal development and its abnormalities. We then passed on to consider the importance of his aggressiveness and to show that aggression liberated through the defusion of instincts is a decisive element in the structure of personality. I need not say that we are here viewing the problem in its *quantitative* aspect.

In addition to these points—the development of the libido and, with it, of the super-ego, and the utilization of aggression in the personality—there is yet a third important factor in the genesis of perversion, namely, the subject's *dispositional bisexuality*. The strength of his biological bisexuality will determine whether or no he can have personal experience of the complex 'woman = to be castrated', and what quantitative importance is to be assigned to this component in the development and elaboration of his castration complex.[23] The quantitative differences in the bisexual balance are responsible for the variations in the mode of reaction. Hence it is probable that those individuals who after a castration-shock regress to a passive feminine phase, which persists throughout life, have, biologically, a stronger passive feminine disposition than those who surmount such a shock more easily or take their stand upon intermediate phases as a means of defence. We cannot at the moment determine whether or no greater masculinity is to be equated with a larger quantity of aggressive instinct.

Conclusions

We have considered the problem of our patient from three separate angles. The question of dispositional bisexuality has been only briefly touched on, but the vicissitudes of his libido and his aggression have been dealt with fully.

Let me briefly recapitulate. This extreme case of fixation at the narcissistic-phallic phase confirms Jones's hypothesis that homosexual perversion is its result. Further, the fixation would appear to depend on the following determining factors:

(1) The particular phase of libidinal development reached when the castration-trauma occurs.

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[23] While this article was in the press I received a number of *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* (Vol. II, 1933), containing a paper by F. Alexander entitled: 'The Relation of Structural and Instinctual Conflicts'. In it Alexander takes a very similar view to my own of innate bisexuality as *one* of the bases of instinctual conflict.

(2) The intensity of the trauma.

(3) Whether or no it inhibits the further development of penile sexuality. If it does so, it hinders also the further development of the super-ego and prevents it from reaching its final form. If these inhibitions produce a super-ego whose nucleus is the mother, the subject's capacity for heterosexual love will be restricted and the narcissistic-phallic phase will persist.

There is yet another point. When this perversion occurs, the subject's aggression is utilized within the ego as follows: The oral and anal aggressive impulses, liberated through regression, are diverted from their original aims and, so to speak, sublimated; i.e. they are employed in the ego in such a way that a continuous anti-cathexis can be produced. The result is an ego which can combat its own femininity by maintaining a narcissistic-phallic phase, i.e. by adopting a pseudo-masculinity.

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

THE LOVE-OBJECT IN MANIA

From consideration of a number of cases of manic-depressive psychosis confined in mental hospitals, it is clear that a desperate attempt is made, during the manic phase, to effect a transference. In their hostility and abusiveness, as well as in their euphoric expansiveness, they over-act their part. Positive transference is more apparent than real, and the underlying attempt at a negative transference is readily revealed. But even this requires to be bolstered up in an exaggerated manner. In severe cases there seems to be but little distinction between the sexes. They all behave and talk alike. Similarly, in their attitude to others, severe cases show no essential difference in their behaviour towards males and females. The surrogate of their object is ever-changing, and mistakes in identity are frequent. They will readily hate one person in mistake for another.

A.B., male, aged 58, with a history of mild alternations between depression and irresponsible elation, was admitted into a mental hospital because, after abusing and threatening several of his acquaintances and also strangers, he prepared to race the Cornish Riviera Express through its entire journey in a small car on a wet day. He had to be forcibly restrained from starting. On admission he was abusive and violent. He tore up his bedding and he urinated and defæcated all over his room. He was completely disorientated, and he refused food.

When the acute phase subsided he persistently called me by a surname not my own. He remained extremely hostile and abusive and he refused to converse except to say, with undue emphasis, that the last thing he wanted was to be under an obligation to me. His wife explained that the real owner of the surname referred to was a medical man in his neighbourhood who had incurred the hostility of the patient through refusing to attend him professionally. Any attempt to undermine the negative transference, to which he clung with desperation, resulted in a severe exacerbation of symptoms, and it was clear that this was his main channel of contact with reality. His childish dependence upon the nursing staff illustrated the nature of the transference, and that the object was the mother externalized in contrast to the introjection of melancholia.

C.D., aged 68. Since early manhood he has suffered from alternating manic-depressive psychosis. During his manic phases, which are mild, he is constantly seeking petty privileges and he has a simpering, childish manner. He flies into a rage when his demands are not met and he is fussy about his food and easily annoyed if it is not to his taste. His behaviour is strongly suggestive of that of a child with its mother.

He next passes through a stage in which his only symptoms are those of a discontented agitator. He has, at such times, had mild affairs with two girls while he was out on parole. But his transference-capacity at the heterosexual level is very limited. When this fails he exhibits successively homosexual impulses and then intensive masturbation. Finally, mild melancholic symptoms supervene, ushered in, on one occasion, by his throwing his dentures over a wall into a hay-field.

In his discontented phase he is partially successful in effecting a personal transference. During his manic phase he tries at all costs to find someone to hate, someone who will, at the same time, provide for all his needs. He succeeds partially in extrajecting his mother, but the transference embraces others in general, rather than individuals. He broadcasts his demands and reproaches. He demands attention and he reproaches all for lack of attentiveness. In his depressed stage his reproaches are turned inwards after he has regressed through clearly defined stages to the oral level. As already stated, he even took steps to make himself edentulous on one occasion. It may be argued that this act represented self-castration, but it fits in so well with a steady regression through well-defined stages that it almost certainly represents one of the stages.

In general, the inwardly turned hate and reproaches of melancholia are concerned with being cut off from loved ones. In mania, on the other hand, the patient externalizes his mother and accuses those in charge of him of lack of attentiveness. Owing to the imperfect capacity for transference, the maniac makes the general public his mother, hence his irresponsible social outlook. And the incompleteness of the transference renders distinction between his own property and that of others necessarily vague. Consequently he is spontaneously generous and, at the same time, unscrupulous in helping himself.

The introjection of the mother in melancholia surely represents the final stage of regression, the denial that the child is distinct from the

mother. But this regression to the early oral stage is incomplete, for hate belonging to the late oral and the anal stages is conspicuous.

If this view is correct, it is difficult to understand how a case of melancholia can appear to recover without passing through the intermediate stage of adaptation represented by the manic phase. Possibly a short, mild manic phase does occur, which is overlooked.

H. Wilfrid Eddison,
Exeter.

ABSTRACTS

General

Louis J. Bragman. ' Ludwig Lewisohn : Psychoanalyst of Literature.' *The Psychoanalytic Review,* July, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 301–315.

The writer discusses the neuroticism of Ludwig Lewisohn and the manner in which he detaches himself from his own problems by means of his writings. His two major problems, a sense of frustration and a serious Œdipus situation, he objectifies in his early works. ' Expression in America ' completed his cure, and to detailed discussion of this book the author devotes the greater part of his paper. He feels that Ludwig Lewisohn's psychological interpretations reveal a keen knowledge of depth psychology accurately applied. ' Having purged his own creative urge, Ludwig Lewisohn has done likewise for American literature.'

Lucile Dooley.

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Otto Fenichel. ' Über die Psychoanalyse als Keim einer zukünftigen dialektisch-materialistischen Psychologie.' *Zeitschrift für Politische Psychologie und Sexualokonomie,* 1934, Bd. I, S. 43–62.

The author regards psycho-analysis as the only empirical science of mental life which satisfies the pre-conditions of a dialectical-materialist psychology. He proceeds to outline some of the aims and uses of such a psychology, and claims that it brings with it the possibility of a successful approach to the prophylaxis of the neuroses, a problem which is almost ignored by the bourgeois physician, who finds therapy more profitable, and prefers to avoid recognition of the social roots of the neuroses. Finally, the author subjects certain ' idealistic ' tendencies in psycho-analysis, not to be regarded as essential to it, to a severe criticism.

' As for attempts to explain and resist war with the help of the psycho-analytic study of sadism, we dialectical-materialist analysts have several times already given them a sufficiently public disavowal, but condemnation of such folly is no reason for condemning psycho-analysis '.

H. Mayor.

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Dr. Immanuel Velikovsky. ' Can a Newly-Acquired Language Become the Speech of the Unconscious.' *The Psychoanalytic Review,* July, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 329–335.

The author cites a number of word-plays in Hebrew and between Hebrew and other languages occurring in the dreams of Jewish patients in Palestine. Examples of plays on ideas are also given as a transitional form between word-plays and symbolism. This indicates, he believes, that the ideational forms of unconscious thinking are probably not determined by hereditary transmission. He further believes that there are

two strata of the unconscious, one associated with language and one not so associated, the former ontogenetic, the latter phylogenetic.

Lucile Dooley.

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Wilhelm Reich. 'Zur Anwendung der Psychoanalyse in der Geschichtsforschung.' *Zeitschrift für Politische Psychologie und Sexualökonomie*, 1934, Bd. I, S. 4–16.

The application of dialectical materialism in the field of psychology yields the results of clinical psycho-analysis, the application of *these results* to sociology and to politics leads to a marxist social-psychology, while the application of the *psycho-analytic method* to sociological and political problems must end in a metaphysical, psychologising and reactionary sociology.

H. Mayor.

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Leon Jobert. 'Addenda to the Psychopathology of Everyday Life: The Cases of Two Students of Music.' *The Psychoanalytic Review*, April, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 154–167.

The author states that two common obstacles encountered in the instruction of music students are concerned with rhythm and memory, and he gives a case study of each. Miss X., who could not master the intricacies of rhythm, was found to have an unfortunate home situation in which the domination and interference of a younger sister played a large part. Relationships were discovered between her menstrual irregularities and her defective sense of rhythm and between her indecisiveness in the face of home problems and her frequent breakdowns in musical performance. The ultimate outcome after discussion of her problem is not known.

Mr. Y. developed memory difficulties before and during public performances. He took his study of music seriously and deplored a previous frivolous attitude toward it. His breakdowns were due to a desire to impress the audience with the extreme difficulty of the task he had set himself. Once convinced that it was more important 'to convey the mood and meaning of the work than to demonstrate hard and unremitting toil by its performance', he had no further memory difficulty.

Lucile Dooley.

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Edmund Bergler. 'Die Biographik macht der Psychoanalyse Konzessionen. Nach dem Motto: Ein Schritt vorwärts, zwei zurück.' *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, 1933, Jg. V, S. 501–512.

Bergler discusses somewhat slightingly some biographies (by Zweig, Wassermann, Ludwig and Wencker-Wildberg) more or less influenced by psycho-analysis.

Melitta Schmideberg.

Eduard Hitschmann. ' Johann Peter Eckermann.' *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, 1933, V, Jg. S. 392–415.

The author analyses Eckermann's filial attitude to Goethe, his passive homosexuality, his sexual inhibitions, and his aggression.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Surit Chandra Mitra. ' Suggestions for a New Theory of Emotion.' *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 1933, Vol. VIII, pp. 1–36.

After a long and learned introduction in which Mr. S. C. Mitra reviews the work done by various modern authorities on the subject of the emotions, he passes on to his own new theory. He assumes that ' mind is at first a vast store of potential energy in a state of perfectly stable equilibrium quite content and at harmony with itself '. This harmony is disturbed by the act of birth. ' Unpleasantness ' is experienced by this disturbance of the first state of harmony. Unpleasantness is therefore a later phenomena than pleasantness. The increasing complexity of the means by which harmony is disturbed leads to an increasing complexity of the means of defence against disturbance. Suppression, repression, introjection and projection are some of the means used for the purpose of maintaining equilibrium. The yearning for harmony is at the root of the death instinct, while Eros is occupied with the maintenance of harmony. The normal mind is a balanced mind. The author thinks that this view may ' reconcile many a conflict both among the academic psychologists and among the psycho-analysts '. This fundamental yearning for harmony may be identified with the ' w ' factor of Spearman.

I. F. Grant Duff.

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M. N. Banerji. ' Emotion, Verbal Images and Speech.' *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 1933, Vol. VIII, pp. 191–216.

This article begins with a short summary of the recent work done by physiologists on the centre of speech in the cortex. It then traces briefly the mental development of the child in its first years, laying special stress on the importance of the emotions. Affect is ' the bond of union of impressions ' and ' the basis of memory '. Without affect knowledge would be useless as there would be no registration of the desirability or undesirability of any thing or situation. There follows a slight sketch of a Bengali boy up to the close of his second year. It ends with a vocabulary taken when he was twenty and a half months and twenty-three and three-quarter months respectively.

I. F. Grant Duff.

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Clinical

Paul Schilder. ' Self-Consciousness and Optic Imagination in a Case of Depression.' *The Psychoanalytic Review*, July, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 316–328.

The author presents the case of a medical student whose loss of optic imagination was the outstanding feature of his depression. Narcissism, optic libido and sado-masochistic tendencies came out strongly in the analysis, and the underlying factors are discussed. This analysis, the author believes, ' shows that self-observation has three specific roots: (*a*) Dissatisfied narcissism, (*b*) sado-masochistic tendencies, (*c*) optic curiosity '. The author's formulation differs from the accepted psychoanalytical theory in its denial of an objectless narcissistic stage of psychosexual development. ' Consciousness is a social function which reflects in the superego, and overconsciousness (self-consciousness) is a result of oversocialization with levelling of the object relations '. Stress is laid upon the social character of human existence, wherein every psychic act is the act of a person who lives in a social group.

Lucile Dooley.

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Karl A. Menninger. ' Some Unconscious Psychological Factors Associated with the Common Cold.' *The Psychoanalytic Review*, April, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 201–207.

The author mentions Groddeck's hypothesis that ' the libido so pervades the entire body that the body may accept or reject an infection in accordance with some instinctive demand ' and suggests that the common cold, by reason of its prevalence, offers a fertile field for the study of accompanying psychological factors. An example is given of a woman previously immune to colds who developed a severe coryza during analysis. She interpreted her own expression, that she had ' taken ' cold, as an indication that she was now willing to ' take ' things, that is, be less aggressive, more feminine, and the analyst further suggested that she seemed to be ' taking ' punishment at the same time. Next she identified her swollen and discharging nose with a penis (taken from her brother) and her previous immunity, which she resented losing, as virility. A violent nasal hæmorrhage which reminded her of menstruation refuted the nose-penis identification and confirmed her feminity. A large cold sore subsided promptly after she had brought out infantile theories of oral impregnation. With the subsidence of the coryza came a cough which suggested menstrual cramps or labour pains, but nevertheless she found herself both masculine and feminine. ' I make myself pregnant by getting my own cold down in my own chest '. In this instance the cold was a re-enactment of a castration wish, acquisition of the symbolic penis, punishment, and finally renunciation of the wish represented somatically in the respiratory tract.

Thus ' when the habitual gratifications are disturbed by an analysis, it is possible to see how psychological necessities find what Freud calls " somatic compliance ", in such a way that the bodily organs and the sympathetic nervous system carry out what the striated musculature and voluntary nervous system are not permitted to do '.

Lucile Dooley.

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L. Pierce Clark. ' What is the Psychology of Little's Disease ? ' *The Psychoanalytic Review*, April, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 131–145.

Following the recent trend of psycho-analysts toward applying dynamic psychology to organic bodily disorders, Clark here presents a study of a nine-year-old boy suffering from Little's disease. Clark concedes that he is dealing with only one part of the total problem. The lesion accounts for the bilateral spastic paralysis, for the epilepsy sometimes present, and also for the mental and emotional difficulties which often follow. Psychological conceptions, believes Clark, serve to supplement these formulations of a structural nature ; they attempt to consider the dynamic processes by which the effects of a brain injury are translated into various forms of emotional tendencies and reactions, and by which these emotional conflicts influence the intellectual as well as the emotional development of the individual. If emotional energies are fixated upon special needs and special tendencies they may not be available as impelling forces in mental growth. This situation is not fundamental in causing amentia but is an important contributing factor.

There is a tendency to impound an excessive amount of libido within the personality as a compensating and protective agent for the crippled or weakened ego. This may take the form of *primary narcissism*, which involves a trend of self-love and aloofness from outer objects except where they contribute to the sense of magic omnipotence ; or it may be manifest in an exaggerated *secondary narcissism*, which consists of projections into external affairs but with a constant need for self-aggrandizement and rewards of praise or approval. The degree of both these tendencies would influence the amount or quality of emotional energy free for participation in the outer world. It would also affect the individual's ability to pass through the various stages of libido-development.

In particular the narcissism might block the urge to ingest knowledge, or the impulse to ' take in ' might remain too highly charged with purely erotic pleasures to allow an absorption and objective use of the knowledge.

The nine-year-old diplegic described has a mild degree of spastic paralysis and a severe though not precisely determined degree of amentia. His behaviour indicates an all-devouring and insatiable need for expressions of love from all who come near him, showing that the larger part of his libido is fixated on oral-erotic impulses at the stage of the breast-relation-

ship. At the slighest break in the flow of libido toward him he goes into a rage, throwing himself on the ground, writhing, screaming, beating his head with his fist or against some nearby object. Even with no obvious frustration at the moment he is inwardly impelled into a rush of destructiveness. His fundamental conflict appears to involve a rigid resistance against giving up some part of the complete omnipotence connected with the primary narcissism. ' As if every adjustment to external conditions were a painful wound, similar to the disorganizing experience of birth, Harry fights against the loss of a previous state, and against the raid upon his settled system of self-protection '.

The split between destructive and erotic impulses results in lessening the drive toward mastering the full possibilities of the knowledge he constantly seeks as a means to domination of the external world. He uses his drive for erotic gratification and resists any real application of his knowledge in constructive effort. The needfulness of his weak ego requires that all of his libido be quickly centred upon himself, that it be largely incoming instead of outgoing. He lacks the emotional support for an application and strengthening of his knowledge as an aid for getting along in the world.

While the emotional factors in this one case cannot establish a general understanding of the psychological effects of an organic brain injury they nevertheless suggest a possible outline for further study of Little's disease. The impairment of the ego's normal power, the need for impounding greater quantities of libido within the narcissism, the effect of the trauma in intensifying the tendency to remain fixated at infantile stages of libido growth may be taken as psychological factors in the arrest of emotional and intellectual development found in such patients.

Lucile Dooley.

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Nolan D. C. Lewis. ' Studies on Suicide. II. Some Comments on the Biological Aspects of Suicide.' *The Psychoanalytic Review*, April, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 146–153.

This is the second of a series of papers on the problem of suicide, in the first of which the author stated that he believed suicide to be ' the most profound pathologic process in the field of psychology '. The differences of opinion whether or not all persons committing suicide are psychotic depends on the definition of ' insanity '.

The term ' adaptation ' is taken to mean those forces tending toward the ' preservation of organic unity ' expressed at the chemical, physical and psychological levels. The two implied factors, individual and environment, are actually inseparable if the individual is to continue to exist. Adaptive processes must remain plastic to survive or to avoid competition. In the human organism the ' higher ' functions have become adapted

through the centuries in reaction patterns, and these inherited ' personality fundamentals ' are modified by external factors during ontogeny. Pathological processes are attempts at adaptation which result in lower levels of adjustment. In suicide, regressive elements totally destroy the adaptation, indicating that the individual's mental processes were sufficiently pathological to be considered psychotic.

Examples of suicides committed by ' normal ' people are found to be without adequate psychiatric investigation prior to the commission of the act. Unrecognized endogenic depressions with feelings of guilt or anxiety often precede the physical or exogenous factors which are regarded as the precipitating case of the suicide. Absence of obvious psychotic symptoms does not necessarily mean absence of psychosis.

Suicidal acts without intent to end life should not be classed with genuine suicides. Self-destruction by ' custom ', such as hara-kiri, is psychobiologically execution rather than suicide, and is surrounded by rites and ceremonies which insure the death of the individual even if his own will fails.

Psycho-analytic study is needed ' to discover the precipitation point which cancels the continuance of existence '. A living organism can never attain complete stability, inasmuch as incessant internal change is required to cope with external change, and the causes of suicide are elements which have interfered with this arrangement. Children who have survived genuine suicidal attempts should prove favourable material for study because of their less firmly cemented reaction patterns.

Lucile Dooley.

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Childhood

F. E. Williams. ' Physical Paternity in the Morehead District, Papua.' *Man*, July, 1933, Vol. XXXIII, No. 128.

Among the natives of the Bebedeben neighbourhood eels are supposed to be the cause of conceptions. An eel ' . . . will only approach a woman soon after intercourse, when the " smell " is still upon her. Thus stimulated, it enters her vagina and itself copulates with her (the woman herself remaining in ignorance), and finally withdraws, leaving behind the greasy deposit such as a man finds on his hands after attempting to hold one of these creatures '. There is some evidence that the eel is also identified with the baby before its birth. [Thus the refusal to believe in physical paternity would seem to amount to the unconscious assertion : ' It is not my penis, but my father's (the eel), which makes (or turns into) the child '.]

Roger Money-Kyrle.

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Richard Sterba. ' Über den Ödipuskomplex beim Mädchen.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Jg. VII, S. 334–348.

This paper describes the development of the Œdipus complex in girls according to the views of Freud, Deutsch, Lampl de Groot and Sachs. The English analysts are not quoted.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Mary Chadwick. ' Kindheitserlebnisse von Pflegerinnen.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Jg. VII, S. 322–333.

Four interesting case histories showing the infantile roots of sublimations and of disturbances of sublimation in nurses.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Klara Hofstetter. ' Gebetzwang einer Vierzehnjährigen.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Jg. VII, S. 311–313.

The compulsory praying of a fourteen-year-old girl who does not believe in prayers is caused by her Œdipus wishes and her reaction to them.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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H. Christoffel. ' Entwicklungs psychologische Bemerkungen zur Kinderpsychiatrie.' *Schweizerische Medizinische Wochenschrift*, 1933, Jg. 63, S. 1017–1025.

A popular paper emphasizing the importance of the birth trauma, of constitutional factors and of early experiences. There are only a few allusions to psycho-analytical findings. The newer discoveries are not mentioned. The only English analyst referred to is D. Garley.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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E. N. Plank-Spira. ' Affektive Förderung und Hemmung des Lernens.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Bd. VII, S. 122–128.

Some illustrations of difficulties in learning caused by emotional factors.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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E. E. Evans-Pritchard. ' The Zande Corporation of Witchdoctors.' *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1933, Vol. LXIII, pp. 63–100.

Here, as among other primitive tribes, illness is caused by a witch putting something into the body that ought not to be there. The witch-doctor locates and, by a sleight of hand, removes a bone, or worm, or spider, when the patient recovers. Although the witchdoctor knows that his surgery is a deception, and his patient may at least suspect as much, both firmly believe in its efficacy. (The symbolic action convinces the unconscious that the ' bad penis ' etc., has gone.)

R. Money-Kyrle.

Grete Bibring-Lehner. 'Über die phallische Phase und ihre Störungen beim Mädchen.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Bd. VII, S. 145–152.

A clear survey of psycho-analytical theories concerning the phallic phase in girls.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Grete Reiner-Obernik. 'Erste Beobachtungsergenbisse eines Falles aus der Erziehungsberatung.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Bd. VII, S. 159–164.

In the case of a sixteen-year-old boy homosexuality and stealing proved to be caused not only by external factors but also by unconscious conflicts and anxiety.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Margaret E. Fries. 'Beispiele der Spieltechnik in der Analyse des Kleinkindes.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Jg. VII, S. 301–310.

The treatment of a four-and-a-half-year-old boy suffering from eating disturbances was conducted under the control of Anna Freud for two and a half months. The child was encouraged to act out its phantasies freely in play. After being encouraged to speak about the bodily openings his anxiety diminished and his general attitude improved. The only interpretation given was that he was afraid of losing his eyes if he played with water and was naughty. The castration complex—as the author emphasizes—has not been interpreted. For external reasons the treatment is now being carried on by another analyst.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Ernst Schneider. 'Neurotische Depression und Stehlen.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Jg. VII, S. 293–300.

The successful analysis of a twenty-two-year-old patient shows clearly the connection between oral frustration, neurotic depression and monetary theft.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Steff Bornstein. 'Ein Beitrag zur Psychoanalyse des Pädagogen.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Jg. VII, S. 314–321.

The attitude of a teacher towards children was based on her identification with her kind grandmother. By educating the naughty children (representing her id wishes) she satisfies her superego. Difficulties in her work, mainly in relationship to the parents of her pupils, are caused by guilt and anxiety resulting from the Œdipus situation.

Melitta Schmideberg.

Fritz Wittels. 'Bemerkungen über Religion.' *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, 1933, Jg. V, S. 246–256.

The author discusses the rôle of 'transference', 'symbolic way of thinking', and 'sublimation' in religion. Religion binds the destructive impulse, but this binding is not infrequently unreliable.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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G. Róheim. 'Women and their Life in Central Australia.' *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1933, Vol. LXIII, pp. 207–266.

Dr. Róheim describes the sexual life of Central Australian women from the time of puberty only; for he has already discussed the infantile manifestations of libido in this JOURNAL (xiii, p. 40).

When a girl arrives at a marriageable age among the Arunta, her vagina is enlarged with a stone knife (p. 234). The meaning of this rite is explained by a myth about a group of women. Each had three long *chelea* (clitores) like *para* (penises), 'one in the middle where the clitoris is, and two where we find the labia to-day. Then an old woman called Nyipitya ("she comes"), who was the chief of all the women, cut all the male genitals off with her stone knife, and made them short. After this the women were *mara* (good)' (p. 236).

The future husband entrusts the act of defloration to the two men who have enlarged the vagina with the stone knife, and this he does partly in order to escape his wife's castration wishes (p. 237) and partly in order to give the first place to a father figure (p. 238).

These details have been selected almost at random, for Dr. Róheim's paper contains too great a wealth of interesting material to be adequately summarized here.

Roger Money-Kyrle.

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August Aichhorn. 'Erziehungs-Beratungs-Seminar.' *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1933, Bd. VII, S. 153–159.

Aichhorn points out the importance of psycho-analytical knowledge for the social worker.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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APPLIED PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

Nelson Antrim Crawford. 'Cats Holy and Profane.' *The Psychoanalytic Review*, April, 1934, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 168–179.

The author gives a history of the cat as a consecrated animal in Egypt, as a highly respected animal in Siam, as an object of patriotic interest in the Isle of Man, and as a sacred inhabitant of temples in Tibet and Burma. He compares the ceremonial 'cleanness' of the cat with the 'uncleanness' of the dog in the Mohammedan religion and assumes that the Jewish

attitude toward cats must be ambivalent, since there seems to be a taboo against mentioning cats in the Bible. In the Mediæval Church cats acquired demoniacal traits because of their association with old pagan rites, and a confusion arose which resulted in a sort of deification and subsequent sacrifice of cats. Most present day superstitions about cats are the outgrowth of ideas of witchcraft. In folklore the cat appears as a bringer of fertility or equally often as a destroyer of it.

Dislike for cats is essentially fear of cats, and in its pathological form, ailurophobia, it appears oftenest in women. All phobias represent a conflict between natural animal desire and moral or religious feeling. The cat is an erotic symbol, female, the 'evil mother', a witch—the specifically sexual character in woman. A strong homosexual trend is observed in some cat-haters. Several interesting cases are described.

Cat lovers identify cats with persons beloved in childhood or with admirable and coveted qualities. The cat typifies wisdom and is a 'tranquil, meditative, elegant, graceful god'. It is perhaps the atmosphere of mystery about the cat, its peculiar intelligence and insight which causes the cat to arouse stronger emotional reactions than are induced by dogs.

Lucile Dooley.

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Ignaz Feuerlicht. 'Analyse des Idyllischen.' *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, 1933, Jg. V, S. 167–186.

The ground motive of the idyll is pleasurable reversion to childhood. The predominance of the pleasure principle and of narcissism in the idyll and the intimacy between author and reader are emphasized.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Eduard Hitschmann. 'Johannes Brahms und die Frauen.' *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, 1933, Jg. V, S. 97–128.

Deep feelings of inferiority (castration complex) and strong mother-fixation made marriage impossible for Brahms. He was hampered by severance of his tender from his sensual feelings and his erotic life was correspondingly divided. He maintained a son-mother relationship with Clara Schumann and had intercourse with prostitutes.

Melitta Schmideberg.

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Paul Schilder. 'Das Körperbild und die Socialpsychologie.' *Imago*, 1933, Bd. XIX, S. 367–376.

Hitherto social psychology has not paid sufficient attention to the fact that human beings are not only psychic entities, but that they have bodies also. Early experiences help to form our bodies, and their final forms are maps of our instinctual urges. On the psychic side we form body-imagos 'Körperbilder' both of ourselves and of other people.

These two are so closely linked that certain lesions of the brain make it impossible for the patient to orientate himself, not only with regard to his own body but with regard to other people's bodies also. The body is a social phenomenon, and hitherto our knowledge of other people's bodies has been undervalued. The personal and the social interest in the body run side by side. Each person's imago of his own body contains that of other people also. There is a perpetual interaction between people's bodies, and the body-imagos are in a condition of continual change. In the theory of identification more heed should be paid to the fact that identifications take place between people part of whose beings are bodies. There is no body-imago of the community. Social psychology is in this respect individual psychology. Social psychology does not only depend on identification but on other actions which take the body for granted.

Our theories of beauty and ethics rest on a basis of a personality in a body and we live in a society in which other personalities and their bodies have the same fundamental importance as our own.

I. F. Grant Duff.

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William Healy. ' Psychoanalysis of Older Offenders.' *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, January, 1934, Vol. IV, pp. 24–30.

Dr. Healy presents the difficulties encountered in securing for analysis individuals who are under ' legal commitment '. He relates in detail a case which demonstrates the difficulties encountered in carrying on an analysis even when the circumstances seem ideal. He concludes that special provisions must be devised for hospitalization of this special type of criminal undergoing psycho-analytic treatment. In addition the patient should have an indeterminate sentence and parole period. With this must go the opportunity for complete control of the offender's life so that upon the successful completion of his analysis he shall be allowed his freedom with the opportunity of securing employment. Without this type of social re-education he must gravitate back into the anti-social group and thus nullify every chance for a successful adjustment.

Samuel Z. Orgel.

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Harold D. Lasswell. ' Psychoanalyse und Socioanalyse.' *Imago*, 1933, Bd. XIX, S. 377–383.

In psycho-analysis we have a microscopic method which can most materially aid the macroscopic method of social analysis. Its special service is to unveil the complexity of inter-symbolical dialectics. In Western civilization importance has been attached to the discovery of natural laws as an aid in the organization of the external circumstances of our lives. Psycho-analysis may make it possible to bring this characteristic of our civilization into our psychic lives as well.

I. F. Grant Duff.

BOOK REVIEWS

Facts and Theories of Psycho-analysis. By Ives Hendrick, M.D. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1934. Pp. 308. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The number of solid and reliable expositions of psycho-analysis is increasing. That some of them would appear to duplicate others probably does no harm, since each has its own place and its distinctive note. Dr. Hendrick provides here an interestingly written description on the trustworthiness of which the reader may rely. As one should with such a book he illustrates it copiously with examples taken from his own experience, but he avoids the mistake of giving long case histories of interest only to the author.

The book is written on modern lines and these present a picture and perspective very different from one that would have been drawn twenty years ago. Nevertheless, one would characterize the book as being on the conservative and orthodox side. Thus the Viennese account of the earliest stages of development are presented without any hint being given of the additions and modifications emanating from the English school. Nearly six times as much space is given to Anna Freud's teaching on child analysis as is allotted to the extremely meagre reference to Melanie Klein's important work on this subject.

The book is divided into four parts :

I. The Facts of Psycho-analysis.
II. The Theories of Psycho-analysis.
III. Therapy by Psycho-analysis.
IV. The Present State of Psycho-analysis.

This is an interesting division, and we would only suggest that the first two sections would better have been headed Clinical Psycho-analysis or Psycho-analytical Practice and Psycho-analytical Theory respectively. The critics would surely say that the first section contained a very great deal in addition to facts. The concluding section is very interestingly written. It is perhaps too complimentary to Jung, and incidentally the date of his resignation from the International Psycho-analytical Association (not Society) is wrongly given as 1910 instead of 1912. The book concludes with a useful glossary, suggestions for further reading, and a full index. It is a book to which we can wish every success.

E. J.

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Massenpsychologie des Faschismus. By Wilhelm Reich. (Verlag für Sexualpolitik, Kopenhagen/Prag/Zürich, 1933. Pp. 288. Price Dän Kr 8.)

The author attempts to interpret the growth and characteristics of fascist and nationalist ideologies in the light, not so much of psycho-

analysis, as of Marxist doctrine enlarged to include psycho-analytic knowledge within its scheme. That psycho-analysis is not altogether comfortable in its new home seems to be indicated by the following quotation (which, incidentally, appears in a footnote): 'Accordingly the Œdipus complex, discovered by Freud, is not so much the cause, as the result of the sexual restrictions imposed by society on the child. Yet the parents carry through the purposes of the ruling class and of the Church quite unconsciously'.

Two chapters, one on racial theory, and the other on the symbolism of the swastika, may whet analytical appetites, but will scarcely satisfy them.

Refreshing is the vigorous criticism of the errors of 'Vulgarmarxismus', chief among which is the tendency to regard all psychology as so much metaphysical hokum. A number of the objections commonly raised against communist doctrine would appear to be valid only for 'Vulgarmarxismus'. Communists would do well to read this book.

H. Mayor.

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Psychodiagnostik. By Hermann Rorschach. (Second Edition, edited by W. Morgenthaler. Hans Huber, Bern and Berlin, 1932, Vol. I. Pp. 230. Vol. II. 10 Plates.)

Dr. W. Morgenthaler, of Bern, has published, as Vol. II. of the *Arbeiten zur angewandten Psychiatrie*, a new edition of the unique work of Rorschach, the psychiatrist and psycho-analyst, who unhappily died at so early an age. This second edition contains a portrait of the author and an *in memoriam* notice by the editor, and it further includes a valuable posthumous paper: *Zur Auswertung des Formdeutversuchs*, first published by the spiritual heir of Rorschach, Dr. Emil Oberholzer, in the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, Bd. 82, 1923. At the end of the book there is a list of Rorschach's publications and a bibliography of the most important writings on his method (the number of which has meanwhile increased again). It is indicative of the character of Rorschach's work that many of these writings are by psycho-analysts. I may mention Bänziger, Behn-Eschenburg, Binswanger, Christoffel, Furrer, Löpfe, Müller, Oberholzer and Boss (though the name of the latter does not appear yet in this bibliography). An article by Zulliger, entitled: 'Der Rorschachsche Testversuch' appeared quite recently in the Special Child Guidance number of the *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* (Jg. VI, Nr. 11/12, 1933).

In the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Band IX, 1923 (S. 512 ff.), L. Binswanger discussed Rorschach's book at length, but more especially with reference to its interest for non-analytical psychologists. In the same journal, Band X, 1924 (S. 311 ff.), Dr. A. Weber (Waldau, Bern) reviewed in detail that last essay of Rorschach's which has been

incorporated in the book. There can be no doubt that just this essay is of the greatest interest to psycho-analysts.

Anyone who has once made himself thoroughly familiar with Rorschach's method will be surprised over and over again at the wealth of practical insight his experiment affords and all the scientific vistas it opens up for psychology. So, too, as we read this book, we find ourselves constantly admiring afresh the abundance and wide scope of the psychological results which the author has with such genius drawn out of an experiment that consists in inviting interpretations of random shapes.

The experiment serves as a key to the psychic ' constitution ' of the subject in its topographical and dynamic aspects, but on a different level or in a different cross-section from those disclosed by the topography and instinctual dynamics of psycho-analysis. In the interpretations which the subjects of the experiment give of the forms presented to them, Rorschach distinguishes kinæsthetic factors and factors connected with colour-appreciation, and out of this distinction there crystallizes out a ' typical mode of experience ' characteristic of the individual. This ' typical mode of experience ' represents ' dispositional factors ', potentialities of experience, which develop into active tendencies only when invested with a libidinal cathexis. Rorschach contrasts (though he does not oppose) kinæsthetic and motor stabilization and the possibility of reaction, and here we note many parallels to Freud's view of the psychic apparatus, as he formulates it in *The Interpretation of Dreams*—the discharge of excitations in either a progressive or a regressive direction and the termination of all psychic activity in ' innervations '. There are also many important points of contact with the theory of the libido. I will merely remind the reader that the conditions of libidinal object-cathexis, as revealed by psycho-analysis, coincide exactly with the qualities embodied in Rorschach's ' extratensive adaptation-type ' (qualities recognizable in the experiment by a preponderance of the colour influences in the subject's answers). Both Freud and Rorschach contrast with this type the hypochondriac, who, having withdrawn his libido from objects, employs it within the ego to reinforce the cathexis of various parts of his body. Rorschach, in his tests, describes this type as introversive, distinguishing it by a preponderance of kinæsthetic elements in the interpretations given by the subject. According to our psycho-analytical notions, there lies midway between these two the type characterized by its obsessional-neurotic libidinal cathexis. Rorschach also accords it the same intermediate position (he calls it the *coarctative* type). When this *ambi-equality* [*Ambiäqualität*] assumes a more expansive form, it appears to constitute a kind of ideal type. The characteristic form of neurosis in the type distinguished by its object-libidinal cathexis, the ' extratensive adaptation-type ' according to Rorschach, would then be hysteria.

To illustrate my remarks I have selected only a few of the many points of contact between Rorschach's *Psychodiagnostik* and psycho-analysis. I would again emphasize the great importance, for our science, of the paper edited by Oberholzer and included in this book.

As regards the use of Rorschach's experiment for the purposes of practical diagnosis, I would say that it is as illuminating as it is widely applicable. For instance, it has recently been found of value in distinguishing between organic-encephalitic and (traumatic) neurotic symptoms following on injury to the skull (cf. Oberholzer, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 136, 1931). Again, it is one of the best intelligence-tests (cf. the chapter on ' Intelligenz '), for it entirely excludes such knowledge as has been taught and memorized. It shews us not what the subject knows but what is his intellectual approach to a task. Moreover, since it reveals the *mode* (as against the content) of his experience, it is excellently adapted for the solution of such practical problems as those of vocational guidance, etc. (cf. Zulliger, *loc. cit.*).

In conclusion I may say that the publishers, Hans Huber, have issued the new edition of this work in an admirable form. It is not paper-covered, as was the first edition, but has a handsome linen binding. The plates containing the experimental material are mounted on cardboard and supplied with the volume in a separate case.

E. Blum.

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The Mind of the Child. By C. Baudouin. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1933. Pp. 282. Price 10*s.* net.)

The picture presented in this book of the mental life of the child resembles nothing so much as the isolated spiders' webs which hang upon a hedge on an autumn day. The child's ' complexes ' are classified in a long series of isolated items, the Œdipus complex (of course), the mutilation complex, the Cain complex, the destructive complex, the spectacular complex, the Diana complex, the flight complex, and so on. These are grouped as ' complexes of the object.', ' of the ego ' and ' of attitude '. Eventually we do come to the problem of ' points of intersection of the various complexes ', the spiders' webs being thus allowed to meet and touch and even cross each other. But we are given no notion of how they come to hang upon the hedge. We are no wiser at the end of the book than at the beginning as to how they grow and what their developmental meaning is. The problem of anxiety is nowhere dealt with. It may be that the ' child mind ' itself is thought of as the spider which spins the webs, for the author states the psychological problem thus : ' How do the vital mechanisms of the instinctive and affective life . . . *present themselves to the child mind ? How does it react to such phenomena* as repression,

transference, sublimation, introversion, identification, and so forth?' (p. 17, Reviewer's italics.) That is to say, the 'child mind' does not seem to *be* these phenomena in their totality, but something or other that 'reacts to' them. And what these mechanisms in turn are, if they are not 'the child mind' in process, remains impossible to say.

The author's failure to understand the dynamics of the mental life and his superficial grasp of those processes with whose abstract names he loves to bespangle his pages, is nowhere shewn more clearly than in his astonishing failure to distinguish between the giving of information and the work of psycho-analysis. In a paragraph dealing with the sexual enlightenment of the child, he says: 'Secondly, if a definite and full answer concerning the sexual life cannot be given, we must at least see to it that, no matter how tender its age, it is not put off with a lie. But we must avoid going to the other extreme and prematurely giving our children explanations concerning the sexual life. Sophie Morgenstern is perfectly justified when she expresses astonishment because, reading Miss Searl's book *Flight into Reality*, she comes across the following passage: "A child of three, wanting to know how its electric heater worked, was informed that its real desire was to be told how its father's penis worked within its mother during the night". Such unnecessary "explanations" are very detrimental to psycho-analysis. Sophie Morgenstern, while admitting that sexual curiosity underlies most of the interminable questions asked by children, wisely suggests that we do no good service to the sexual enlightenment of children when we give them details which they have not expressed any wish to know and which they are too young to understand' (p. 99).

Baudouin, here, has evidently quite forgotten his own earlier remarks to the effect that the theory of symbolism is 'the foundation of the psycho-analytic edifice' (p. 58); just as he entirely fails to grasp the other fundamental truth, that psycho-analysis is concerned, not with the conscious preoccupations of the child, but with his *unconscious* wishes and phantasies —whatever his age may be.

Susan Isaacs.

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The Tragedy of King Lear. By J. S. Branson. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1934. Pp. 227. Price 15*s.* net.)

The specific interest of this book for the psycho-analyst lies mainly in the last chapter where the author inquires into the origins of Lear's insanity. He finds these in the incestuous wishes and phantasies of the unconscious mind, comparing the play in this respect to the tragedy of Œdipus Rex. The author, however, does not state explicitly that the father-daughter situation in 'King Lear' represents unconsciously the mother-son relationship of the Œdipus tragedy. In the play itself Shakespeare characteristi-

cally leaves it to the fool to reveal the truth. ' I have used it, nuncle, ever since thou madest thy daughters thy mother ' (Act I, Scene IV.).

The author accepts intellectually the unconscious Œdipus situation as a dynamic ' in life and conduct ', but from such statements as the following one wonders if he has any real conviction : ' It is possible that the greatness of King Lear is in part due to its subtle acceptance of this old world truth ' (i.e. Œdipus wishes). ' It seems to me that he (Shakespeare) knew from his observation of life that many psychological truths since established were factors in the formation of conduct and life '. Surely the dynamic power that shaped and fashioned ' King Lear ' was derived from Shakespeare's own unconscious Œdipus conflict ! He did not *consciously* accept ' this old world truth ' any more than from his observation of life he *consciously* understood that the Œdipus conflict motivated conduct. King Lear reveals the truth from within himself, whereas in ' Œdipus Rex ' the incestuous situation is brought about by fate. The authentic passion of the Œdipus conflict of earliest childhood is voiced by the aged King Lear. The accessibility of that early emotional experience in all its purity, the massive detailed phantasy in its elaboration, are mysteries of Shakespeare's own psychology we have not plumbed.

The psycho-analyst who is convinced of the universality of the Œdipus conflict must needs inquire into other additional factors determining the outbreak of insanity. The author throws no light on these. The method adopted in this exposition of ' King Lear ' is not conducive to a clear statement of psychological problems raised by the play. There seem to be two aims in the study. The first is to give a full account of events in such a way that all vagueness and indefiniteness regarding time and place of action shall be eliminated. The writer is zealous of Shakespeare's reputation as a dramatist. During this prolonged exposition the movements of the characters are detailed, not only from entrance to exit, but from exit to entrance again. The characters finally emerge as almost credible human beings. The second aim of the study is to give the psychological reactions between the different characters, leading up to the final chapter on the origins of Lear's insanity to which reference has already been made.

The first aim has nullified the second. The reviewer would agree with A. C. Bradley that ' King Lear ' represents Shakespeare's greatest achievement, but not his greatest play. Dramatically it is imperfect in structure. At times the pain and terror are only just kept within the limits of human endurance. The artist was taxed to the utmost of his resources in controlling emotion within the canons of poetry. Had the writer made these significant facts the starting-point of his inquiry he would have approached the central interest of this play for the student of psychology, which is the dramatization of a culminating phase of emotional stress in Shakespeare's own inner life. From this angle some of the characters become almost

symbolical figures. They are powers, not persons, and one is only understandable in terms of another, as one movement is bound inevitably to another in the construction of a great concerto.

The writer of this book was nearer to essential understanding when as a boy he read ' King Lear ' to the accompaniment of a tempest outside. The greatness of the play lies in the fact that the tempest within the mind of Shakespeare becomes articulate. Sophocles made the Œdipus conflict explicit. Shakespeare achieved a greater thing in ' King Lear '. He has made articulate and explicit in terms of the old man, the massive emotions of hate and love and terror of a tiny child. The terrifying phantasies familiar now to every child analyst following on the lines of Mrs. Klein's work are to be found in ' King Lear '. The revelation, could we have understood it, has always been to our hand. We realize anew the profundity of our problems in psychology when we remember that this play which is often considered the one that it is well-nigh impossible to present adequately on any stage is the play in which more than any other the conflicts of infancy and earliest childhood are dramatized.

E. Sharpe.

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The Gate of Remembrance. By Frederick Bligh Bond, F.R.I.B.A. Script by John Alleyne. (E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., New York, 1933. Pp. 208. Price $2·50.)

This book is a report of the ' miraculous ' discovery of two chapels, the Edgar Chapel at Glastonbury and the Loretto Chapel in 1919, whose sites were unknown, by means of communications largely obtained through automatic writing. John Alleyne, the medium through whom these communications were received, died shortly before the publication of the book. *The Gate of Remembrance* is a mixture of very precise drafts and plans, detailed facsimiles of the automatic writing, photographic views of the ruins, conjectural reconstructions of the Abbey and Chapels, poems by John Alleyne (obviously out of place in a scientific record), religious devotion and philosophical speculations. The report of the automatic writing which led to the discovery of the first chapel was not published until some time after the foundations had been excavated. The report which led to the finding of the second chapel, however, was published before the ' fulfilment '. The theory the author offers reads as follows: ' . . . the embodied consciousness of every individual, in spite of its seeming isolation, is in very truth a part—and an integral part—of a vastly greater Unit of mind and being sympathetically united with himself in ever-enduring association of Idea, Will and Purpose. . . . That such association of mind and soul of those incarnate on earth with the great Company of those others who have passed on *is a living Reality*, is the constant theme of the Brethren who speak through the mind and body of

the human medium '. Needless to say, the unconscious with which we work in psycho-analysis bears no relation to this speculation which brings to mind certain similar theories of Fechner. C. G. Jung and his school may perhaps find such viewpoints within their domain. Consistently, psycho-analysis is not mentioned in the book—indeed, psycho-analysis has nothing to say for or against such speculations. It has always been, and still is, dangerous for psychologists to approach matters of this nature. While the subjective honesty of this type of research work is not disputed, the margin of deception and self-deception is so great that one may easily waste years in this realm only to discover that he has built his conclusions on sand. It is for this reason that most psychologists, psychiatrists, and other scientists refrain from spending their time in research work of such nature.

Fritz Wittels.

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Sex Life and Sex Ethics. By René Guyon. (International Library of Psychology and Sexology. John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., London, 1934. Pp. 386. Price 15s.)

Dr. Norman Haire, the editor of this series, says of this book : ' It has impressed me as one of the most important contributions to sexological literature that I have ever read '. We do not share this estimate. Nor should we like to think that by ' sexological literature ' Dr. Haire understands ' propaganda against sexual morality '. For the work is essentially a shouting propaganda. From the point of view of scientific investigation of sexual phenomena—which is what one generally means by ' sexology '—it is so superficial as to be of little worth.

M. Guyon is a prolific writer—a list is mentioned of the books he has published and of six more in preparation—who has spent a great part of his life in the East. Like most observant travellers, he has been struck by the relativity of moral conventions and by the great variation in sexual customs in different parts of the world. Stimulated, no doubt, by these observations, he has come to the easy conclusion that the numerous systems of regulating sexual behaviour are in essence artificial and factitious, corresponding with no permanent law of psychology, sociology or biology. If all these regulations and taboos—and the most interesting part of the book is the amusing collection he has made of these—were abolished, the world would be a better and happier place. He applies the same conclusion to sexual perversions as to the more ' normal ' modes of functioning.

M. Guyon has come across psycho-analysis and expresses his views about it freely, but courteously. In a chapter entitled ' Adhesion to Freud's General Principles ' he gives a description of it which an analyst would not find very easy to recognize. Naturally he is favourably impressed by the general importance Freud attaches to the sexual instinct and to his studies

on the sexuality of children. But we hear little about the complexities of mental structure, the part played by the super-ego, and the depth of endopsychic conflict. Instead all the stress is laid on the supposedly evil effects of ' repression ', a process M. Guyon conceives of in a purely sociological sense. This repression is ' responsible ' for all neuroses (no other factors being mentioned), so of course removing the foolish taboos that comprise it would do away with all neurosis. How simple it all appears !

Among the confirmations provided of Freud's views may be found the following priceless evidence. ' The existence of infantile sexual activity had been noted even before the time of Freud. In one of the comedies of the younger Dumas we find the following words addressed to a young girl : " You know as well as I do . . . that from sixteen years onwards . . . all are really interested in one thing only, marriage " ' (p. 41). M. Guyon considers that ' we may accept this as good evidence ' (i.e. of childhood sexuality). Though he then paradoxically goes on to use the same data as evidence of how erroneous nineteenth-century beliefs were in dating so late the onset of sexual manifestations.

M. Guyon offers a new explanation of the backwardness of psychoanalysis in Latin countries. This is because their need for it is so slight. In Anglo-Saxon countries (including Germany !) the news of how harmful was sexual repression came as a mighty relief from the prevailing Puritanism, whereas it evoked only a shrug of the shoulders in warmer latitudes. To add to the relief in question I might for the benefit of anxious Nazis quote M. Guyon's statement that ' The Viennese investigator seems, with good reason, to have confined his observations to a milieu which, in its racial characteristics, was essentially *Aryan* and Western ' (p. 54) ; this should correct a prevailing misconception.

To return to the main theme. It is not surprising that M. Guyon is very dissatisfied with the practice and doctrines of psycho-analysts. Starting so well it is a pity they fail to finish. What they should do is not to adapt their patients to prevailing moral codes (' psycho-analysis ought not to remain a mere therapeutic tool in the service of an out-of-date system of conventions ', p. 285), but to teach them to overthrow these pernicious codes. In this there is a considerable anticipation of Dr. Wilhelm Reich's later views. M. Guyon sternly chides psycho-analysis for stopping half-way, imputing this to the timidity of analysts. Of the complexity of psycho-analysis, and of the elements that go to make up the social situations with which he deals, he has no glimmer.

All sexual perversions (even coprophilia and neurophilia) are not only natural but primary. Indeed, they cannot possibly be acquired tendencies (for M. Guyon's ' acquired ' means only ' received from the outside world '), since society on the whole condemns them so there is nowhere from which they could be ' acquired '. Again no hint of the complexity of psycho-

sexual development, or even consideration of the clinical fact that many ' perversions ' (e.g. sadistic phantasies) unfit a person from obtaining gratification from any object or person.

The book has been conscientiously translated by Professor and Mrs. Flügel. E. J.

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Egypt and Negro Africa : A Study in Divine Kingship. By C. G. Seligman. (George Routledge & Sons, 1934. Pp. 82. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This booklet is the Frazer lecture for 1933, and contains many interesting data from the author's field work and other sources on a topic so well suited for a Frazer lecture. King killing and rejuvenation ceremonies are discussed without going very deeply into the psychological aspect of the question. The cases in which the welfare of the country depends on the potency of an individual are explained not from the viewpoint of the believer as due to the projection of the supernatural potency of the father, or of the primal scene into the universe, but as an identification with environment : that is, from the viewpoint of the kings in question. This may be accepted as an additional motivation. Professor Seligman does not quote the reviewer's contribution to the same subject (' The Pharaoh and other African Kings ', in Animism, Magic and the Divine King, pp. 224-260), nor does he refer to the important data and synthesis of Frobenius in his ' Und Afrika sprach ', 1913, and in the ' Atlas Africanus '. It is also remarkable that he fails to emphasize the close connection between the two main elements in the ritual of royalty, viz. the incest committed by the king and the violent death in store for him.

G. Róheim.

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Malekula, a vanishing people in the New Hebrides. By A. Bernard Deacon. (George Routledge & Sons, 1934, London, XXXVIII. + 789. Price 42*s.*)

A valuable record of anthropological field work undertaken by the late author under very trying circumstances and edited from his field notes by Camilla H. Wedgwood. Although the book, like most anthropological records, is mainly concerned with the ceremonial aspect of life, yet the reader will find that it contains valuable information also on the sexual life and the psychology of the people of Malekula. ' Frequent cohabitation is regarded as a bad thing, especially for a young man '. ' The advice generally given by the old men is that a man should copulate once a night for three nights in succession and then have two nights' rest and so on continuously '. ' Only for old men, especially those whose hair is white, is it considered right to sleep with a woman once nightly with no intervals ' (p. 155). What would therefore seem to be a healthy state of things, in which there is no excess of cohabitation from neurotic or ego-reasons, is

qualified by the second sentence as simply a rule conceived in the spirit of gerontocracy. That the old men should have more intercourse than the young cannot be a fact, only a *pium desiderium* of the elder generation. I find many observations in the book that remind me of my own field work in Normanby Island. For instance: 'The Malekulan is typically bourgeois and commercially minded'. 'Wealth or rather the ability to display and expend wealth, is the hall-mark of rank, and a man's chief interest is to acquire wealth and yet more wealth' (p. 17). 'It is not, however, the mere possession of wealth which gives prestige; it is rather its distribution' (p. 199). The book is a very important contribution to the psychology of Melanesian culture.

G. Róheim.

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Indo-European Folk-Tales and Greek Legends. By W. R. Halliday. (Cambridge University Press, 1933. Pp. 157. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*)

A useful compendium of modern views on the question of the relation of myth to folk-tale and on the problems of diffusion. In discussing the Gorgon the author observes that 'Gorgon was originally the name applied to a prophylactic mask of hideous ferocity'. 'The psychological basis of these practices rests upon two complementary ideas'. 'Secondly, the idea which inspires a number of evil eye amulets that something hideous or obscene will ward off the influence of evil spiritual powers' (p. 138). In this case, clinical material recently obtained in connection with this myth clearly indicates that the petrifying 'obscene' sight in question is the primal scene.

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G. Róheim.

Nature and Nurture. By Lancelot Hogben, M.A., D.S.C. (Williams and Norgate, London, 1933. Pp. 143. Price 6*s.* 6*d.*)

There is hardly any subject, except of course psychology, so beset with prejudice, bias and superstition as the study of heredity. It is therefore an agreeable surprise to come across a book such as this is, one written with complete objectivity and profound knowledge. Professor Hogben is one of the three or four biologists in the world who are equipped, both biologically and mathematically, to make important contributions to this subject and to assess our present state of knowledge on it. There being no reference to psycho-analysis in the book, this is not the place to discuss its contents, but every analyst would do well to inform himself of the present state of scientific knowledge in respect of the problems that concern him, e.g. consanguinity, inbreeding, inheritance of mental disorder and defects, etc. For those who are averse to reading a highly technical treatise, in which mathematics play an essential part, the reader may be referred to a more general exposition of the subject which Professor Hogben has written as a chapter in another book called *Science To-day*.

E. J.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY
EDWARD GLOVER, GENERAL SECRETARY

REPORT OF THE THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL CONGRESS

The thirteenth International Psycho-Analytical Congress took place at Lucerne from August 26 to August 31, 1934, under the presidency of Dr. Ernest Jones. There were 228 present—132 members and 96 guests.

Thanks are due to the local Swiss Committee for the hospitable and efficient manner in which they undertook the arrangements for the Congress. Unhappily the Congress was marred by a tragic event, for the Secretary of this Committee, Dr. Behn-Eschenburg, was taken seriously ill on the second day of the Congress and died some weeks later, on September 21. The loss of such a devoted colleague is a severe blow, not only to the Swiss Society, of which he was a very active member, but to the whole International Association which he had served so faithfully.

Opening of the Congress

The President, Dr. Ernest Jones, opened the Congress on Monday, August 27, at 9 a.m. at the Kongresshaus with the following address :

' My first thought on opening this, the thirteenth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, is inevitably the painful one that for the first time in our history of twenty-six years we miss among us the founder of our Association. It costs an effort to picture a Psycho-Analytical Congress without Ferenczi. Until the last few years, when signs of his distressing malady were becoming unmistakable, he was the very life of every Congress. When it was his turn to deliver an address the hall was always thronged and he never disappointed his audience. I do not need to recall to you the unforgettable vividness of his delivery, his inspired style, nor the characteristically frank and self-revealing quality of his speech. His personality radiated his interest and enthusiasm for his work and was always at the free disposal of anyone whom he thought he could help. As one of his most intimate friends I can bear witness to his generous disposition, his staunch loyalty and his superb integrity of character. I see him now with his courteous bearing, his warm and intimate smile, his unhesitating speech and abrupt, decided judgements. He was an intensely human and lovable figure, one who set us an example of simple

sincerity and unfaltering love of truth. I will ask you to rise in memory of our dear friend and leader.

'Ferenczi's death means more to us even than a grievous personal loss and the end to a stream of invaluable scientific contributions. It is a milestone in the history of the psycho-analytical movement. There are very few indeed left who, like him, have been uninterruptedly present at every Psycho-Analytical Congress held. Then Ferenczi was the most intimate friend of Professor Freud, so that with him goes one more of the connecting links between Professor Freud's personality and our Congress work. On the other hand, I am happy to deliver to you a personal greeting from Professor Freud, whom I had the pleasure of seeing in Vienna in very good health and spirits only three days ago.

'This thirteenth Congress, however, takes place at yet another fateful conjuncture in the history of psycho-analysis. I refer, of course, to the disturbing blow that has been dealt it in one of its longest and best established centres. At the last Congress Dr. Eitingon in his Presidential Address spoke of the prevailing economic derangement which had led to the Congress being held a year later than its normal time. He could hardly then have foreseen the astonishing political upheaval that was to come about within a few months from then, nor the discomposing effect it was to have on the conditions of our work. These events touch us all too nearly for me to be able to refrain from commenting on them here.

'It would be easy to register a protest at the fashion in which these political activities have hampered the work of many of our colleagues, but such a course would be assuredly futile. Moreover, it would be to descend from our own position and participate in the emotional turmoil of others. It will be more dignified, and also more profitable, to contrast this sort of politics with the attitude of Science. When Science is attacked its best answer is simply to restate its tenets. On the one hand, we observe human beings actuated by highly subjective motives and cloaking their acts under a mask of pseudo-ethnology characterized by gross ignorance of all ethnological data. Psycho-analysts, on the other hand, represent themselves as men of science who avow no aim other than the pursuit of truth. From this standpoint our comment can only be one expressed in terms of cause and effect. And the inference we draw is so obvious that to us it must be almost a platitude, in spite of the way it is still ignored in the non-scientific world. It is that to interfere, under any pretext whatsoever, with the freedom of scientific workers is the same thing as to impede the progress of Science itself. And since Science is the essential attribute of our present civilization, indeed the unquestionable basis for its existence, such interference is an injury to civilization. In so far as any Government embarks on, or permits, such interference it assuredly weakens the basis of civilization, primarily in its own country and to a less

extent in the whole world. We should be leaving our proper province to judge these actions, but I have not refrained from pointing out their inevitable significance.

'So much for our attitude towards the outer world. Our presence here in unprecedented numbers, and the embarrassingly large number of scientific contributions brought from all over the world, demonstrates how unshaken we are by these external traumas. We can, however, also learn from the present state of affairs a lesson for ourselves. We see once more that Politics and Science do not mix any better than oil and water. We know, as psychologists, that the motives impelling men to change a given social order are of the most varied kind, a medley of laudable and ignoble impulses in which the desire to ascertain truth seldom plays any but the most subordinate part. So that anyone engaging in such activities must necessarily be impelled by motives other than scientific ones. The master of our school, though well-known to be strongly imbued with humanitarian desires for the betterment of human life, has always known how to keep these strictly apart from his scientific work, which has therefore never suffered in its purity. In this, as in so many other respects, he has set us an example we should do well to follow. There are not wanting among us signs of impatience with social conditions and eagerness to engage in the changing of them. From what I have said it follows that whoever yields to such impulses becomes by so much the less a psychoanalyst. And to attempt to propagate his particular social ideas in the name of psycho-analysis is to pervert its true nature, a misuse of psychoanalysis which I wish firmly to denounce and repudiate.

'Nor unfortunately can it be maintained that our Association is entirely free of the national and even racial prejudices which we so deplore in the world around us and which have engendered there such dire consequences. Throughout the history of our Association I have fought, and at times fought hard, for a simple principle in this matter. While respecting the social conditions and laws in the particular country in which it is our lot to live, I have urged that our common interests, as those of every body of scientific workers, are strictly international or rather supernational in character, and that the intrusion of local prejudice is in every way to be deprecated. We all, I imagine, should give intellectual assent to this principle, and yet it is often violated in practice. Emotional influences of just the kind we see acting so balefully in the world of politics seem to infect at times individual analysts or even whole societies. Yet never more than now, when we are faced with such hard circumstances, has the need for union been so great. For our own sakes, in our own interests, and for the work we have so much at heart, we need to make every endeavour to sink these national prejudices and to unite together in a common bond of friendly co-operation. I make this appeal with all

the earnestness and ardour at my command. This International Association, the first one to gather together after the dividing schisms of the Great War, an historic meeting of which we have reason to be always proud, an Association whose members have had the best opportunity vouchsafed to any human beings of purging themselves of emotional prejudices, should set an example of friendly union and co-operation to a world rent with discord and antagonism.

'To turn now to the immediate moment, I have the pleasure of thanking our Swiss colleagues for giving us this opportunity to meet together in their most beautiful country. Although the arrangements for the first Psycho-Analytical Congress, twenty-six years ago, were made in Switzerland, arrangements in which I happened myself to play a certain minor part, this is the first time it has proved feasible to hold a Congress here. The reason for this is well known. Psycho-analysis has had to sustain in Switzerland an attack the more ravaging in that it proceeded from within. All the more honour is due to those who gallantly stood firm, waiting for more auspicious days. Under Dr. Sarasin's trusted leadership these are now dawning, and our assembling in Congress in the heart of Switzerland signalizes the more stable position of our esteemed colleagues here. The cordial welcome they have extended to us, and the visible preparations they have made for our comfort, enable me to open this Conference with confidence that it will prove both profitable and enjoyable.'

First Scientific Session

Monday, August 27. 9 a.m.

Chairman: Dr. Max Eitingon, Jerusalem

1. Ella Freeman Sharpe (London): Similar and Divergent unconscious Determinants in the sublimations of 'pure' Science and 'pure' Art.

(1) Definition of 'pure' for the purpose of this paper.

(2) The mechanisms of 'projection' and 'introjection' as the unconscious determinants of science and art.

(3) Common basic phantasies, common necessity for 'control' and 'elimination of chance' underlying both sublimations.

(4) Divergent methods of attaining 'control' and 'elimination of chance' in science and art. Divergent character development.

(5) Sublimatory activity and sublimation products.

2. Sandor Rado (New York): Outline of a Masochistic Theory of the Neuroses.

The masochistic dynamics of anxiety, sense of guilt, and of functional abnormalities. Fixation of the Œdipus complex through masochism. The pathogenic pressure of masochism on the narcissistic ego-economy. Measures of defence and adaptation taken by the ego, and eruptions of

masochism in the neurotic process. The key-position of genital disturbance in symptomatology; the notion of compensated and uncompensated genital disturbance. The heuristic advantage of the conception presented.

3. Felix Boehm (Berlin): The Development of the Sense of Shame.

I start with two observations from the field of ethnology: (*a*) The German ethnologist Günther Tessmann describes two African cultures in the Cameroon, one with ideas of a deity, and the other without such ideas. The forms of sexual activity in children, adolescents and adults are the same in both cases. In the culture without ideas of a god, this activity is unaccompanied by any sense of shame, allusions to all forms of sexuality being perfectly open from earliest childhood on, with everything correctly described. In the one with ideas of a god (composed of negro tribes inhabiting the same area) a marked prudery prevails, reminiscent of that customary in Europe, and causing the negroes to posit the non-sexual nature of most processes.

(*b*) The Fulbe tribe of East Africa are aware of, but do not admit, the connection between cohabitation and conception. If one talks intimately with the older members of the tribe, they admit the connection, but assert that their sense of shame makes them reluctant to avow this knowledge.

I then examine with the help of abundant ethnological and analytical material the question of the factors contributing to the origin and development of the sense of shame.

4. Dorian Feigenbaum (New York): Morbid Shame.

Infatuations, but persistent celibacy, reluctance to be seen with lover, and disguised jealousy, all superimposed upon fear of destruction of the illusory phallus.

5. Otto Fenichel (Oslo): Defence against Anxiety: with particular reference to the problem of Libidinization.

'Traumatic anxiety' and 'signal-anxiety' do not stand in absolute opposition. Not only is the 'anxiety-signal' rendered possible by the circumstance that the ego's insight into a danger in the id introduces—only in a lesser degree—the same conditions as a traumatic state, but the intention to 'signalize anxiety' is often unsuccessful; in the presence of dammed-up libido a vehement signal works like a match in a powder-barrel. This possibility imposes upon the ego the necessity not only of establishing a defence against instinct by means of the development of anxiety, but of following this up with attempts to ward off the unpleasantness of anxiety. The traumatic situations conditioned by the biological helplessness of the infant render possible the conception that instinct is a danger. The socially determined prohibitions directed by education against instinct make this idea a reality.

Lack of a developed reality-principle, in consequence of which objects are understood only in terms of subjective instinctual life, leads to phan-

tastic misinterpretation of the outer world, which is expected to inflict punishments appropriate to those impulses regarded by the subject as dangerous. (' Early super-ego ' is an unsuitable designation for this.)

Of the methods of infantile defence against anxiety, two stand out in relief: identification with the object of anxiety, and the flight to reality. ' Libidinization of anxiety ' is a combination of both methods. Frantic clinging to a real object for protection against the dangers of a phantastically distorted one leads to a love-relationship, just as identification, say with a dreaded animal, creates a predilection for it. Just as we find forms of homosexuality which represent an over-compensation of original hate (Freud), so too there exist other reactive forms, namely, identification with the other sex with the aim of denying anxiety of the other sex. Many traits in the erotic life serve, by means of over-compensation, as defences against an accompanying sexual anxiety. A case where sexuality served to ward off anxiety. Comparison between reactive and spontaneous sexuality reveals the former as convulsive, aim-inhibited, torn by contradictions and wasteful of energy ; it shares all the characteristics of reaction-formations.

' Libidinization of anxiety ' in the literature. Jones' attempt to regard the phallic phase as a reactive one. Searl's conception of the origin of respiratory sexuality. The theory of the perversions and the problems requiring discussion. Glover's formulations on perversions and defences against anxiety.

The biological significance of infantile sexuality and the primary somatic nature of the libido. Dangers of a false evaluation of secondary complications: before any defence against anxiety with the help of instincts arose, the primary instincts existed, failure to satisfy which gave rise to anxiety, so that anxiety developed as a defence against them.

6. Ludwig Eidelberg (Vienna): Outline of a Comparative Theory of the Neuroses.

The outline of a comparative theory of the neuroses represents an attempt to introduce alongside of a general and special theory of the neuroses, *a third method of approach* which stresses the comparative investigation of *individual defence-mechanisms.*

A large number of case-histories taken from the author's own experience and that of others is utilized to this end, with a view to presenting specific defence-mechanisms in isolation.

With the aid of a special schematic form, the single defence-mechanisms are so presented that a birds-eye view is obtained as well of the surface sections accessible to description as of the roots which have been uncovered in analysis. The *cross-sectional views of the neuroses* so obtained are classified according to the regressions which have taken place to each of the three infantile stages of development. Comparative consideration of

the defence-mechanisms classified on these principles makes it possible to subject to detailed study the following problems :—

(1) Etiology of the neuroses. (2) Composition and structure of the neurotic defence-mechanism. (3) The quantitative contribution to the symptom of each of the psychic instances. (4) The quantitative proportions of Eros and Thanatos, the rôle of the pleasure and Nirvana principles and the degrees of intensity of the various defence-mechanisms.

Second Scientific Session

Monday, August 27. 3.30 *p.m.*

Chairman : Dr. Philipp Sarasin, Bâle

1. Paul Federn (Vienna) : A Contribution to the Principles of Ego-Psychology.

Communication of further arguments for orthriogenesis (cf. this Journal, Vol. XV, p. 296) derived from experiences in the interpretation of dreams.

2. C. P. Oberndorf (New York) : The Genesis of the Feeling of Unreality.

(Synopsis not received.)

3. Ludwig Jekels (Stockholm) (in collaboration with Edmund Bergler) : The Dualism of Instinct in Dreams.

The authors take it upon themselves to consider the dream phenomenon itself *as an aspect of the struggle of Eros and Thanatos,* as they did recently in their paper ' Übertragung und Liebe ' (*Imago,* 1934, Pt. I). In applying to problems of detail this dualistic hypothesis of instinct, which Freud uses to elucidate the phenomena of life in the individual and in the community, the authors believe that they are answering the most urgent requirements of our science, and those most fruitful in results. The authors come to the conclusion that manifestations of the death instinct may also be shown to exist in dreams. This thesis is demonstrated with reference to clinical dream-material, and also its consequences for the practical interpretation of dreams in everyday analytic work. The speculative question of the dualism of instinct in dreams thus becomes one of practical significance.

The decisive significance of the super-ego for this ' battle of the Titans ' has already been emphasized by the authors, and here it was necessary to keep sight of the fact that the two constituents of the super-ego, often not adequately differentiated—*Ego-Ideal* (' Thou shalt ') and *Dæmon* (' Thou must not ')—are psychologically and genetically distinct. The ego-ideal has two roots : one consists in the ego's attempt to divert the aggression directed against it by the death instinct on to objects, which thus become objects of dread—the exchange of an inner danger for an outer projected

one, an unsuccessful attempt. This performance of Thanatos is countered by Eros by absorption of the anxiety-arousing objects into the ego, where they become the substance of the individual's narcissism. The second root of ego-ideal formation is to be sought in the ego's efforts to reach a compromise in maintaining its supposed omnipotence. This imaginary omnipotence is severely shaken by the demands of the external world (feeding intervals, training in cleanliness). Confronted with these, the child, in consequence of its helplessness, can only choose between renouncing its infantile delusions of grandeur or accepting the commands and injunctions of its parents, with the reservation, however, that it rescues its imaginary omnipotence by clothing involuntary acts with a semblance of deliberate choice and invests the introjects with its own narcissism. But were success to crown this defence of Eros against Thanatos (the erection of the ego-ideal by means of identification) then this ego-ideal would be exclusively the abode of love, which in reality it is *not:* Thanatos counters this tendency of Eros by means of *de*sexualization, which, as is well known, goes hand in hand with every identification. Accordingly, the *ego-ideal* is *desexualized Eros* and corresponds to that *undifferentiated narcissistic energy* postulated by Freud in *The Ego and the Id,* which can, on occasion, accrue to the two fundamental instincts and increase the total cathexis of one or the other of them. Thus the ego-ideal may be compared to a neutral zone between two belligerents, to the real stakes in the war of the Titans, and above all to a pawn in the game of Dæmon. The latter owes its constitution to the unsuccessful attempt on the part of Eros, here outlined, to discharge by way of projection the aggression originally directed by Thanatos against the subject's ego. With quantitative variations in degree, projection fails: first, because of the individual's helplessness, since the small child is powerless against its environment, and can scarcely surpass it in acts of aggression; secondly, because the very objects against whom its aggression is directed—parents—have already been taken into the ego-ideal, and this results in a moderation of aggression, or alternatively in self-aggression. Both causes lead to aggression being dammed up and turned back on the subject's ego; thus threatened, the ego falls a prey to anxiety, and gives the danger-signal. The ego-ideal, the seat of desexualized Eros, is utilized by Dæmon for its destructive tendencies towards the ego: everlastingly proposing the ego-ideal as 'silent mentor' and demonstrating the discrepancy between ego and ego-ideal, Dæmon engenders feelings of guilt in the ego. Thus it comes about that *the ego-ideal,* originally established to maintain a threatened narcissism, becomes *the most dangerous weapon of Thanatos against Eros.*

To show that this occurs in dreams with a frequency well-nigh suggestive of regularity is the task undertaken by the authors in this lecture.

4. Edmund Bergler (Vienna) (in collaboration with Ludwig Jekels): The Dualism of Instinct in Dreams. (For synopsis, see Ludwig Jekels.)

5. S. M. Payne (London): Mental Mechanisms in Dream and Trance States.

The relation between day-dreaming, dream states, and mediumistic trance. The dream state as a libidinal gratification. The dream state as a defence mechanism against the aggressive instinct. Predisposing and traumatic factors in the etiology. The part played by depersonalization and alienation phenomena. Mediumistic trance as an attempt at sublimation and an effort to gain relationships with objects.

Third Scientific Session

Tuesday, August 28. 9 a.m.

Chairman: Dr. Paul Federn, Vienna

1. Fritz Wittels (New York): The Psychological Content of 'Masculine' and 'Feminine'.

Introduction of the idea of 'experience' [*Erlebnis*] in the psychology of sex: one's own sex and the opposite sex as 'experience'. Explanation of the untranslatable word *Erlebnis* for English and French thinkers. Recapitulation of a definition of the sex-'experience' from the standpoint of the super-ego (appeared in the *Almanach*, 1933 and this Journal, 1933). The sexless polarities of the thinking ego and their relations to bisexuality, whose true abode is the id. Bisexuality, with the pleasure and death instincts and the repetition-compulsion, a fundamental quality of the id. The interlacing of the three requirements: be both sexes and complete, be neither sex, avow your sex. An attempt to understand narcissism and the Œdipus and castration complexes on this basis.

2. Marie Bonaparte (Paris): Essential Feminine Masochism.

Continuing her researches on female sexuality presented at the last congress, concerning the fundamental bi-sexuality of woman, Mme. Marie Bonaparte to-day takes up the theme of essential feminine masochism. In agreement on this head with the views of Helene Deutsch, she sees in this masochism a regular constituent of female sexuality. Study of flagellation phantasies in particular, among women, enables her to establish a normal phase of instinctual evolution, in which phallic libido undergoes a reversal from sadistic into masochistic libido. She then traces the various destinies of these phantasies; preservation intact, repression of the presentation with or without salvage of affect, subsequent integration of the salved affect in adult erotic function, reaction-formation or sublimation; and from them she deduces the various erotic types of women which can then be established by the clinical experiences of psycho-analysis.

3. R. Loewenstein (Paris) : Phallic Passivity in the Man.

In a great many cases of disturbances of potency in the man, together with more or less completely inhibited normal genital activity, genital automatism is preserved in passive forms of satisfaction : masturbation, fellatio. The author proposes to distinguish two aspects of genital function, corresponding to two phases of the phallic stage of the libido. The phallic phase is characterized by the predominance of wishes and forms of satisfaction with passive aims. The active aim of penetration only emerges late in childhood, in unequivocal form only towards puberty. In the passive phase, the penis behaves like any other erotogenic zone ; nipple or clitoris. The active phase clinches the establishment of genital primacy.

In adults, the passive forms of genital satisfaction are accompanied by a rapid ejaculation without convulsive movements. In cases of ejaculatio præcox, orgasm can assume an urethral form owing to the regression of genital function to the passive phallic phase. The possibility of genital satisfaction in a passive form in cases of disturbed potency (as also in cases of persistent masturbation or homosexuality) indicates that the castration complex can inhibit normal genital activity while leaving the passive form of this function intact.

4. Melanie Klein (London) : The Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States.

From the knowledge that super-ego formation begins with the earliest oral incorporation of objects we obtain the conception of a super-ego built up of manifold object-cathexes and identifications deriving from the various stages of development. This super-imposition in the structure of the super-ego constitutes the foundation—where illness supervenes—for the heterogeneous nature of the objects set up in the ego and for the complicated relations of the ego to its internalized objects. In the light of this conception of a normal and abnormal process of introjection, a close connection becomes discernible between the mechanisms of paranoia and melancholia. This leads to results which complement our existing knowledge of the loss of object and process of introjection in melancholia.

5. Helene Deutsch (Vienna) : Don Quixote and Quixotism.

With Cervantes' immortal hero as point of departure ' quixotism ' is approached as a constant feature of the human mind. The influence of this factor, both in inhibiting and promoting reality-adaptation, is portrayed and its importance for the understanding of ego-psychology discussed ; an account is given of the conditions under which the bounds of normality are exceeded, whether in the direction of special excellence or of morbidity. In particular, its relations to the psychopathies and to clinical psychotic states are shown.

6. M. Katan (Holland) : The Spontaneous Attempt at Recovery in Schizophrenia : a contribution.

An attempt is made to apply the doctrine of the duality of instincts to the formation of delusions in schizophrenia. In the light of case-material, the possibility is discussed that defusion of instincts has progressed to such an extent that the organs in which auto-erotism finds expression become objects of the death instinct. Projection follows as a defence against the dangers ensuing, and the struggle between the two instincts is now represented by the various delusional relations between an object of the outer world and the ego. In many cases of dementia paranoides, the attempt at recovery progresses so far that the Œdipus complex is animated afresh. In reality, the attempt at recovery is so far successful that a word-cathexis of infantile material takes place, though without the occurrence of the corresponding instinctual cathexis.

7. Edith Vowinckel (Berlin) : A Contribution to the Theory of Schizophrenia.

Psychiatry (Berze) conceives of the basic disturbance in schizophrenia as ' hypotonia of consciousness ', to which it traces all the essential symptoms. It is not a far step from this psychiatric conception to the psycho-analytic one of the failure of the synthetic function of the ego. This function is largely dependent on a free interchange of object libido and narcissistic libido, as in the illustration drawn by Freud from the pseudopodia. In the loss of reality accompanying schizophrenia, and in narcissistic regression of the libido, the various identifications which go to make up the structure of the ego are burdened with an excessive accumulation of narcissistic libido. The changing clinical picture of catatonia becomes intelligible if we are able to guess which identifications have become overcharged with libido and have for the time being forcibly usurped power over the ego. In accord with this view is the subjective experience of submission to an alien control revealed in the expressions of catatonic patients such as ' My thoughts, my movements are not my own '. There is a tendency to project the identification which the concentration of libido has rendered over-powerful into the external world, and this corresponds to the mechanism of self-cure in the psychoses, as Freud has described it. The splitting up of the ego into its constituent identifications can be interpreted as another mechanism of defence against instinct, similar to repression and isolation at higher regressional levels.

8. Therese Benedek (Berlin) : A Specific Type of Addiction.

In the light of the severe case of a girl of twenty-six, addiction is depicted as a *secondary disorder*. The primary instinctual conflict finally leads to an ' *exalted idea* '. The ' exalted idea ' is regarded as a monosymptomatic paranoia. Metapsychological investigation of the ' exalted idea ' results in the discovery of extensive genetic similarities between it and the super-ego. The ' exalted idea ' sustains the function and economic action of the super-ego, but belongs topographically to the ego. The super-

ego character of the ' exalted idea ' keeps alive the instinctual conflict, which is over and over again compelled to find relief in the addiction, with its many angles and complications.

Discharge of tension arising from the primary instinctual conflict takes place, in the case of the psychoses, *alloplastically*, i.e. by means of projection, with the result, then, that new relations are contracted with the environment. In the addictions, discharge of tension arising from the primary conflict takes place *autoplastically ;* the drug is taken into the ego from outside in an attempt to effect an alteration in the ego.

9. Alfred Gross (Milan) : The Effects of Toxic and Toxoid Substances on the Psyche.

Existing psycho-analytic literature on toxic influences treats the matter only from the point of view of addiction and paranoia. In view of the ubiquity of these influences in our everyday life, this review endeavours to reach a more general comprehension, and is able to discover a generally valid primary process, which is formulated with the means available to analytic dynamics, but ' beyond the pleasure-principle '. The psycho-energic root-formula for toxic effects. Tolerance of these effects and the wish for abstinence in the light of this formula.

Grouping of the best known types of reaction with the help of analytic topography.

Possibility of a conception of the *primary* mechanism of toxic influence as a psychic traumatoid.

Fourth Scientific Session

Tuesday, August 28. 3.30 *p.m.*

Chairman : J. H. W. van Ophuijsen, The Hague

1. Käthe Misch (London) : The Biological Foundations of Freud's Theory of Anxiety. (No synopsis received.)
2. Werner Kemper (Berlin) : The Problem of Orgasm and Frigidity in the light of Comparative Embryology.

Summary : The vagina occupies an exceptional position developmentally, viz. :—

(1) Ontogenetically : The vagina is the one erotogenic zone which is not of cloacal origin, whereas all the other erotogenic zones, those of the genitalia, internal and external, in both sexes, the erotogenic zones, too, of the anal-urethral stage are alike proved cloacal derivatives. Accordingly, we have to postulate a ' prehistoric cloacal stage ' giving rise to the erotogenicity of these zones, as opposed to the vagina.

(2) Phylogenetically : The vagina is phylogenetically the most recently acquired part of the sexual apparatus ; its function as an organ which

during the sexual act enfolds the penis as in a cloak is for the most part performed, even in the mammalian group, by the vestibulum, and in still earlier stages preceding cloacal differentiation by the cloaca, to the complete exclusion of the vagina—a later development.

In regard to the question of the *genesis* of this *non*-cloacal erotogenicity of the vagina, reference is made to the transformation of orgasm accomplished in the course of phylogenetic development in the female. It amounts to this, that the orgastic function originally bound up in both sexes with discharges of the ovum or semen from the parent animal, that is, in an outward direction, undergoes a modification in the female when an *inwardly* directed act of fertilization is evolved, in that the orgasm severs its connection with ovulation=birth (henceforward a result of fertilization) and adapts itself temporally to the orgasm of the male, which remains unchanged.

Discussion of the possibility that the erotogenicity of the vagina, the genesis of which has been characterized above as obscure, may be a legacy from that primary and now abandoned erotogenicity of the oviduct.

Discussion of critical objections, substantive and methodological.

3. Heinrich Meng (Bâle): Pathoneurosis and Pathopsychosis.

The work follows on Ferenczi's 'Hysteria and Pathoneurosis' (1919) and turns to account observations and experiences acquired since the publication of that book in the mental treatment of organic disease. Further, examination is to be brought to bear on the question whether the concept of an 'organ-psychosus', formulated as an hypothesis in the treatment of a woman patient with Simmond's disease, is a serviceable one. The specific alterations in the ego and organs accompanying psychoses, neuroses and mixed forms fall to be discussed.

4. Robert Wälder (Vienna): The Problem of Freedom in Psycho-Analysis and the Problem of Reality-testing.

Not a discussion of the metaphysical 'problem of free will', but of 'freedom to' as a psychological phenomenon. Analytical expressions such as: in neurosis, freedom to do this or that is absent, treatment has the task of giving the ego a larger measure of freedom, etc.

Three layers in the problem of freedom; the most general form in objectivation of subjective experience (super-ego function); freedom from affects, over affects; freedom to apprehend reality. Three degrees of its derangement in neurosis, psychosis, and asymbolia; loss of perspective in regard to subjective experience in asymbolia, absorption in affects in neurosis with preservation of ego and super-ego function, loss of freedom in relation to the objective world in psychosis with preservation of super-ego function. The three layers correspond to the tripartite division of personality in psycho-analysis.

Causal thinking : the why question corresponds to the tension between possibility (super-ego function) and reality (perception and instincts).

Disturbances of will in schizophrenia. The problem of ego-expansion (' where id was, ego shall be ') and ego-shrinkage. Pseudo-strength of the ego (fear of fear or belief in omnipotence) and real ego-strength.

Man appears a creature endowed with a limited measure of freedom. A view of psycho-analytic pedagogy ; pre-analytic pedagogy recognizes two methods of training : rewards and punishments, and the technique of ' You ought '. The former presupposes complete absence of freedom, the latter unlimited freedom ; the former, as it were, animal, sub-human, the latter divine, super-human, neither of them human. The psycho-analytic a human pedagogy, presupposing the existence of a measure, albeit a limited measure, of freedom.

5. Ernst Kris (Vienna) : The Psychology of Caricature.

The pleasure-gain in caricature (economic considerations). The correspondences between wit and caricature, the contribution of the ucs to caricature, its similarity to the dream, its relation to mechanisms of the primary process (topographical considerations).

Exemplification by reference to the problem of animal caricature ; its historical relation to physiognomy and characterology, its psychological relation to animal phobias and totemism.

The process of wit and the process of caricature ; the riddle as the negative of the joke, the rebus as the negative of the caricature.

Effigy-magic and the beginnings of caricature ; insulting and derisive representations as early forms. (Phylogenetic consideration.) Caricature and the graphic art of the child (ontogenetic consideration).

Caricature as a social phenomenon.

A view of the general problems of the psychology of the comic : the comic as a typical attempt at a solution ; the ' comic individual ' as a character-type. Situations of play and fun as precursors of the comic, the acquisition of pleasure and the mastery of pain as its tasks. The double-edged character of comic phenomena (pain-excitation instead of pleasure) and the conflict of ambivalence. The comic process the work of the ego. The primary process in the service of the ego. The relations of the primary process to the thought-processes of children and primitives.

The comic and the sublime, mania and ecstasy.

The special position of humour.

6. Gustav Bally (Zürich) : The Social Significance of Anality.

During the anal phase man shows a disposition to obtain gratification (excretory play, fæcal and urinary) narcissistically (independently of objects), while strivings towards objects refer exclusively to the mother. Various indications lead us to surmise that in the anal position he experiences tendencies, incompletely realized, to develop an egocentric system

of relationships to the environment (independence of the parents). This development is inhibited by the child's dependence on its mother, which at this age is practically complete, in much the same way as the earliest strivings to attain to a genital position are fated to come to a premature end. The animals chosen for comparison (dogs, monkeys) are at a corresponding stage just beginning to leave the mother's side. Their environment thus assumes a more or less unmistakably anal tinge, which character it retains (marks left in the surroundings by urine and fæces). Here the sense of smell, as organ of orientation, performs the decisive function. In the composition of human anality, the essential features of the animal's ' world through anal eyes ' are shown in their reference to the mother and the individual ego.

7. Barbara Low (London) : The Psychological Recompense of the Analyst.

I. Main problems of the analyst's psychological deprivations. (*a*) Inhibition of narcissistic gratification. (*b*) Inhibition of super-ego impulses and standards. (*c*) Inhibition of dogmatic certitude. Recompense for above to be obtained by :

II. The ' Sharing-in ' process on the part of the analyst ; to afford any real recompense this must involve : (*a*) Living other lives, not merely ' looking in at ' (i.e. possibility of creative experience on the part of the analyst, whereby he develops further the known elements in himself, and realizes hitherto unknown elements, so fulfilling his phantasies and releasing more of his unconscious). (*b*) Reliving his own inner sequence side by side with his patient's similar re-living.

III. Reaction upon the patient of this Sharing-in with further re-action upon analyst. (*a*) Greater contact with analyst. (*b*) Creation of a ' sense of movement ', fitting in with patient's instinctive impulse-life. (*c*) Furtherance of patient's positive ego-development.

Fifth Scientific Session

Thursday, August 30. 9 *a.m.*

Chairman : Dr. Felix Boehm, Berlin

1. Edward Glover (London) : A Developmental Study of Obsessional Neuroses.

Study of obsessional neuroses constitutes a focal point in research on mental development. These neuroses represent a phase during which the first effective control of introjection and projection mechanisms is achieved. The emotional affects peculiar to these earlier mechanisms are to some extent mastered and more closely bound to ideational systems, thereby promoting reality adaptation.

For these and other reasons the obsessional group requires more accurate

subdivision and classification. Correlation with melancholia and paranoia provides a simple approach to this problem, but this must be combined with an investigation and classification of perversions and with a clearer understanding of the relation between obsessional fears and anxiety phobias.

2. H. Christoffel (Bâle): The Genesis and Symptomatology of Exhibitionism.

A skilled labourer, aged thirty-one, twelve years in a good situation, seven years married without children, became indictable for exhibitionism on occasions dating five and ten years back, and now, for the third time his offence brings him before the Court. In this situation he seeks medical assistance, and is referred to the analyst. While still on remand, shortly before the crucial proceedings, he is again arrested for exhibiting himself. In virtue of the expert medical evidence—the expert put himself in touch with the analyst—the patient only gets a conditional sentence of two months' imprisonment with threat of deportation.

From now on he no longer exhibits; but the urge to do so only finally disappeared eight months after the treatment began. The analysis was continued for a further nine months, and was then broken off by the patient after he had lost a whole series of other symptoms, besides the most striking one. The total time occupied by this unusually broken partial analysis (which lasted a round period of eighteen months) was a bare fifty hours, divided into regular half-hourly sessions, which followed one another more closely in the earlier stages, so that thirty-four hours fall within the first eight months, and sixteen in the remaining nine. The expense of this panel treatment compared with the net cost to the State of a two months sentence of imprisonment shows a ratio of 4 to 3.

Ventilation of the fundamental complexes, in spite of the short period of analysis, was to a large extent possible, albeit the Œdipus and castration complexes were insufficiently worked through. The analysis, which was thus relatively productive, yielded conclusions of a genetic and structural order which constitute an addition to our present knowledge concerning exhibitionism. In particular, the direct and indirect element of aggression (terroristic exhibitionism, self-surrender) is to be demonstrated in connection with the castration complex. Further, we find noteworthy connections between exhibitionism and orality (nipple-complex).

3. Bertram D. Lewin (New York): The Meaning of the Fear in Claustrophobia.

The fear experienced in claustrophobic situations is coupled with ideas relating to the intrauterine state, and is either a fear of being born or of being disturbed (smothered, injured, etc.) by the father's phallus during coitus. In turn these fears are reducible to defloration, birth, and castration fear. Common combinations of claustrophobia with fears of being blinded,

of drowning, etc., are given interpretation, and there are appended certain remarks on what the child thinks or speculates about the intrauterine state.

4. Edoardo Weiss (Rome) : Agoraphobia and its Relation to Hysterical Attacks and Traumas.

While in the majority of cases agoraphobia is heralded by the sudden appearance of an anxiety-attack, there are isolated cases which follow on an hysterical attack, and in others again the point of departure is a traumatic experience in the street. An account follows of the results obtained from the analysis of several cases of this phobia, some new points of view concerning the hysterical attack in general, its relation to the anxiety-attacks of the phobic patient, metapsychological points of view relative to the traumatic nature of many hysterical and anxiety attacks as compared with the psychical traumas originating in external stimuli.

5. Gregory Zilboorg (New York) : Clinical Problems of Suicide. (Synopsis not received.)

6. Karl A. Menninger (Topeka, Kansas) : Focal Self-Destruction.

In a previous study of suicide the unconscious motives were shown to belong to at least three groups : the wish to kill, the wish to be killed and the wish to die. In order to satisfy the aggressive, destructive tendencies (the wish to kill) and the submissive masochistic tendencies (the wish to be killed) it is not essential that actual death of the total personality results. These components may be satisfied by a 'partial suicide' attenuated in time (as in asceticism, martyrdom, slow starvation) or in space (attacks by the self on separate parts of the self, insufficient to result in death). The latter might be designated focal self-destruction.

Studies by the writer of focal self-destruction in various forms are here presented in summary, including (1) self-mutilations (commonly seen in bizarre forms in the psychoses and in more conventional forms in the neuroses, in religious ceremony and in social customs) ; (2) malingering; (3) compulsive submission to one or multiple surgical operations ; and (4) accidents of unconscious intent resulting in local injury. All have this in common : that a part of the body is injured or destroyed with the partial co-operation of the rest of the personality.

In all instances of focal self-destruction it would appear that the dynamics are (1) acceptance of passive gratifications as a substitute for active sexual and aggressive acts or wishes, and (2) a renunciation of a part of the active tendencies as a sacrifice for past aggressions and as a purchase price for future indulgence. Focal self-destruction has as its chief purpose then, not the ending of life but the preserving of life, and, while apparently a form of attenuated suicide, actually constitutes a compromise formation whereby total annihilation is averted. It seems therefore to represent dominance of the life instinct rather than (as in suicide) of the death instinct.

SIXTH SCIENTIFIC SESSION

Thursday, August 30. 3.30 *p.m.*

Chairman : Dr. István Hollós, Budapest

1. Franz Alexander (Chicago) : Psychogenic Factors in the Etiology of Peptic Ulcers. (Synopsis not received.)
2. George Wilson (Chicago) : Report of Acute Laryngitis Occurring as a Conversion Symptom during Analysis. (Synopsis not received.)
3. Oskar Pfister (Zürich) : The New Testament Cure of Souls and Psycho-analytic Therapy.

The common origin of both in the striving for mastery over guilt-anxiety and over evil, which is conceived as punishment (divine or self-inflicted), particularly the evil of sickness. The metaphysical conditions for guilt (God—normative and punitive ego-ideal, sin, demons—Œdipus wishes, id, possession—obsessions).

Abrogation of the religious (or pathogenic) conflict producing anxiety : replacement of a dictatorial and punishing instance by a kindly and merciful one, of an anxiety and obsessional neurotic attitude by a free and healthy one (religion, ethics and psycho-analysis as the psychic hygiene of the individual and society, prohibition against moralizing, creation of an independent and loving devotion to the supreme normative instance), ultimate abrogation of all ethical principles in the place of sublimation and moral improvement. Concurrently regression from the strict father to the ' pre-moral ' father of earliest childhood and conciliation with him through loving trustfulness (New Testament) or through obedience to a purged and generalized ego-ideal (psycho-analysis), or through destruction of all norms and devaluation of the father (beyond good and evil).

Significance of the transference and of the intercessor (Christ, priest—analyst), who on the one hand stands as representative and authoritative embodiment of the norm (God—ego-ideal), and on the other represents mankind as recipient of love (the God-in-man-hood of Christ as psycho-therapeutic postulate and its analogue in psycho-analysis). Regression to an early infantile situation (Jesus : to a little child, the gospel of St. John and Paul : to the mother's body—psycho-analysis : individual variation in the degree of regression) ; the principle of renewing lost connections and turning freely towards new openings.

Notwithstanding the many parallels which allow one to regard the cure of souls in the New Testament as an intuitive and unscientific form of psycho-analysis, and analysis as in many ways a scientific elaboration of the early Christian cure of souls, there exist deep-seated differences in regard to aim, intellectual assessment of object (religious plus general psycho-analytic points of view—investigation of the network of determinants by the methods of exact science), treatment and topography, so

that the two procedures require to be sharply differentiated. In difficult cases, strict analysis free from any admixture of religion must always lead the way ; it depends on the individual case how far a new life will have to be built up after the work of deprivation (analysis), and how far this will require external aid (psychotherapist, spiritual adviser). With children and the majority of adolescents, we cannot dispense with the need to supplement the work of analysis in a positive direction.

4. Emilio Servadio (Rome) : Psycho-Analysis and Telepathy.

The author starts with the assumption that telepathy is already an established fact, and examines separately the three main problems of spontaneous telepathy in their relation to psycho-analysis, to wit : (*a*) cases of telepathy during analysis ; (*b*) so-called ' telepathic dreams ' ; (*c*) telepathic transferences in a waking state with special reference to hallucinatory forms.

As regards the first question, the author develops the contributions of Helene Deutsch and István Hollós, supplementing them with observations of his own, some of a theoretical kind and others derived from analytic practice. In the light of the conclusions reached, he interprets a well-known communication of Freud's. He shows how the assumption and knowledge of telepathic phenomena occurring in the course of analysis is able to further the analytic process.

In connection with so-called ' telepathic dreams ' the author proposes an extension of Freud's formulations and insists principally on the psychic states and complexes which promote telepathic transference and determine it. From an analytic standpoint, the conditions surmised for the advent of this form of transference are of the greatest interest, and the author discusses in this connection both telepathy in dreams and telepathic events in analysis.

As regards telepathic hallucinations, the author tries to solve the problem why they consist in the visual perception of the imago of the *sender* and not in that of the *recipient*, when *this* alone could be present to the mind of the sender. He appeals to the psycho-analytic theory of hallucinations, the id's capacity to obtain an hallucinatory gratification, and infers from this that a telepathically hallucinated image is a psychic production of the recipient and seems to be a compensation for the injury or destruction of the person of the sender, of which the unconscious receives tidings.

Finally, from the standpoint of metapsychology the author asserts the regressive nature of telepathy as such ; he emphasizes the ontogenetically archaic character of telepathic expression and its chronological precedence over gesture and speech. He asks himself whether this character as such may not be considered from a phylogenetic point of view, as Freud has conjectured and as the observations made in the field of ontogenesis seem to show.

5. Nicola Perrotti (Rome): Psycho-Analytical Remarks on Music.

Music is the language of the unconscious. In common with unconscious mental processes it has no *sense of contradiction* or negation, is entirely alogical, and bears no relation to external reality. It expresses neither concepts, nor even feelings, only the movements and variations, with all their possible variety of complication, of psychic ' charges ' accompanying mental states: for this reason, music is the expression of the instinctual *dynamism* of the unconscious. Expression is realized without intervention of the preconscious, proceeding directly from the unconscious to consciousness. But although affectless in itself, music none the less arouses in the audience emotions, ideas and fantasies, as is seen when it discovers in the preconscious an idea on which to fasten, which acts, so to say, as a vehicle for it. A deeper examination reveals this relation as one of the essential features of artistic creation.

6. Walter Kluge (Berlin): The Pre-Œdipal Phase in its significance for the Psychology of Religion.

So long as the Œdipus complex was the focal point of psycho-analytic research, it was natural that it should dominate investigations into the psychology of religion on an analytic basis. Only when, in response to deeper soundings, the pre-Œdipal phase began to be revealed before our understanding, could examination of its content bear fruit in regard to the psychological problems of religion. In fact, the roots of the religious phenomenon are already to be found in the pre-Œdipal sphere, albeit the significance of the Œdipus situation for it is one of elemental upheaval, so that it is more than intelligible that it has hitherto been possible to regard precisely the Œdipus situation as first and last cause of all religious experience. Nevertheless the direct route from the so-called ' oceanic feeling ' leads, not to the Œdipus complex, but to the pre-Œdipal mother-child communion, to a layer in which critical capacities have as yet not been evolved and blind confidence reigns. It is quite possible that deification of the mother-imago sets in at this point.

In the biblical world, the upheaval of transition from pre-Œdipal to Œdipus stages is clearly symbolized in the paradise myth, the ' fall ' from ' innocence ' into guilty consciousness of incest. This state of affairs throws light on the central notions in the higher religions of ' reconciliation ' (with the ambivalent father-imago) on the one hand, and ' salvation ' (through pre-Œdipal union with the mother) on the other hand.

Deepening research further, we are shown the possibility of an improved analytic understanding of mystical phenomena, especially the so-called bride-mysticism, that is, ' guilt-less ' communion with the mother-imago on the basis of religious sublimation. Mystical experience cannot be finally explained purely as a narcissistic manifestation. On some such basis, we

may probably hope for an appreciable extension of psycho-analytic contributions to the general psychology of religion.

Finally we may express a well-founded surmise that the so-called death instinct, characteristically interwoven as it is with libidinal elements, plays a specific and weighty rôle in all religious manifestations. It is probable that the introduction of the death instinct as a factor will make it necessary to modify considerably the existing psycho-analytical conception of the nature of ' sacrifice '; even apart from this latter point of view, ' sacrifice ' is manifested already in the pre-Œdipal life of the child.

Seventh Scientific Session

Friday, August 31. 9 *a.m.*

Chairman : Dr. A. A. Brill, New York

1. René Laforgue (Paris) : Contra-indications to the Fundamental Rule of Analysis.

The fundamental rule of analytic treatment is not always capable of rigorous application if it is not at times to become a peg for the patient's resistances. Consequently it is important to apply it with all desirable elasticity. The situations in which the strict application of the fundamental rule may be contra-indicated.

2. Grete Bibring-Lehner (Vienna) : On the Transference-Resistances.

The significance of reality and of phantasy in the theory of neurosis-formation. The transference as a spontaneous displacement of unconscious attitudes in the patient on to the imago represented by the analyst. The significance of the real person of the analyst for the transference. By means of clinical examples, it is shown how the real person of the analyst may influence the character of the transference and resistances. Consequences of this conclusion.

3. Theodor Reik (The Hague) : Point of Contact ; Pause ; Resumption (New Ways in Psycho-Analytic Technique. II).

The broad general conditions for the understanding of unconscious processes in another. The nature of the unconscious material at hand. The psychic process in the analyst. The instant of transition from the primary to the secondary process as the psychological moment of analytical understanding (point of contact). Recognition of the point of contact, danger of its neglect. Obscurity first of all. The latency period of psychological understanding. The further unconscious utilization of the association. The productive interval, analytic insight allowed to ripen. Against the helter-skelter of thought. Changes in psychological perception in the pause. Resuming the thread of the first associations, their correction and elaboration. Comprehension of their full range and bearing.

4. E. Lowtzky (Paris) : Psycho-Analytic Technique in overcoming the Resistance opposed by an over-severe Super-ego.

The problem with which we are concerned is that of overcoming the resistance which in cases with an over-severe super-ego manifests itself in opposition to the cure of the patient, i.e. in cases in which it is a question of ' a " moral factor ", a sense of guilt, which is finding its satisfaction in the illness and is refusing to give up the penalty of suffering '. This resistance, frequently insurmountable, presents itself as a powerful obstacle to the patient's recovery, so that ' where the intensity of the sense of guilt is too great, there is often no counteracting force of similar strength which the treatment can put in motion against it '. This intense sense of guilt has its origin in the aggressive impulses. The super-ego then displays particular severity, rages cruelly against the ego, punishing it with the illness. It is a question of overcoming this resistance, finding ' a counteracting force of similar strength ' to oppose to the intense sense of guilt. We find this ' counteracting force ' by pointing to the fact that feelings of aggression arise from love, have their origin in love, so that it is possible to judge of the intensity of this love by reference to the intensity of the hate, and that the child bears no responsibility for this transformation of love into hate, which arises in consequence of its disappointment over its parents' love.

In a number of quite severe cases of obsessional neurosis and hysteria, besides the four cases here cited, I was successful in overcoming the most stubborn resistances of the super-ego and leading the patient to recovery. Accordingly where the intensity of the sense of guilt is so great, an exhaustive elucidation of the genesis of aggression constitutes ' a counteracting force of similar strength ' enabling us to reduce the sense of guilt and so to break down the resistance of the super-ego and restore the patient to health.

5. Michael Bálint (Budapest) : The Aim of Psycho-Analytic Treatment.

Existing descriptions of this aim : making the unconscious conscious overcoming the resistances, removal of infantile amnesia, reliving of experiences in analysis, abreaction of the trauma of birth, association which is really free. The theory of a fresh beginning. Conclusions relative to the so-called ' pregenital stages of organization of the libido ', more especially the ' anal-sadistic organization ' and the ' phallic phase '. Criticism of attempts at explanation based on the castration complex. Prospect.

6. Wilhelm Reich (Malmö) : Further Problems of Character-Analysis and some Consequences.

Description of the origin of the energy of the ego-instincts with the aid of clinical illustrations. Fear of falling and superficial association. Fear of loss of object and characterological lack of contact. Vegetative reactions after loosening of the characterological armour. Muscular rigidity and

characterological petrifaction. Some problems of the psychophysical borderline.

7. George Gerö (Copenhagen): The Theory and Technique of Character-Analysis.

(1) Character-analysis is a special instance of the analysis of resistances, and therefore an indispensable part of every analysis. (2) We come more and more to recognize the characterological elaboration of neurotic conflicts as a very common mechanism of defence. (3) We pronounce character-formation to be neurotic when it impairs capacity for experience and achievement, when it grows rigid, and loses the possibility of transformation and adaptation. (4) Character-traits function not only as inhibitory devices, but also by way of overcompensation. (5) Characterological defence comes about by means of particular modes of reaction, but also through the formation of physical mechanisms, e.g. the muscular contraction of the obsessional character. (6) Ferenczi, Fenichel and Reich have drawn attention to the significance of these formal physical moments. The question whether these physical phenomena do not reveal destinies and transformations of the libido is one for investigation. (7) The technical significance of these formal manifestations consists in the fact that they form a repository for the history of an infantile conflict, that is, the repression of a sexual or aggressive impulse from fear of punishment. By consistently making conscious the formal physical manifestations and uncovering their function, we allow the anxiety bound in these attitudes to break through, and are thereby enabled to reconstruct and resolve the original conflict.

8. Melitta Schmideberg (London): The Mode of Operation of Psycho-Analytic Therapy.

Psycho-analysis strengthens and corrects the spontaneous self-curative tendencies of the individual.

The action of interpretation; economic, topographical and dynamic. Conditions for the action of interpretation. The defusion of instincts and displacement of libido in the course of analysis. Factors regulating these processes.

Influence on the processes of projection and introjection. Nature of the transference-situation. Some factors determining the limits of therapy.

Comparison of psycho-analysis with other forms of psychotherapy.

Eighth Scientific Session

Friday, August 31. 3.30 *p.m.*

Chairman: Dr. Ernest Jones, London

1. M. N. Searl (London): Infantile Ideals.

Since the substitution of the term super-ego for ego-ideal, comparatively little additional knowledge of the ideal aspect of the super-ego has accrued. Yet the incorporation of the parental ideal or the ideal parent in its con-

nection with the Œdipus situation implies some precedent history of ideal formation. For every psychic phenomenon has its own specific genesis as well as occasion.

Infantile ignorance of time and of other reality limitations is an important element both in infantile impatience and in infantile contentment: in the anxiety lest situations of tension and discomfort, as in the desire that situations of happiness, should never end. This gives the origin of the two inter-related extremes in super-ego formation, with impatience and ruthlessness as the mark of their infantile origin in both. Thus the anxiety resulting from the association of these affects with the infant's own ideals may drive towards their displacement by the parents' ideals, particularly when these are directed rather to externals, to behaviour, than to the internal psychic life.

2. Ruth Mack Brunswick (Vienna): The Pre-Œdipal Roots of the Primal Scene (physical care, the primal scene and infantile masturbation).

The early physical care of the child provides the basis in fact for the child's understanding of the primal scene, and for infantile masturbation-phantasies.

3. Raymond de Saussure (Geneva): Analysis of the Ego.

The infantile conflicts underlying the neuroses take shape at an age marked by the great difference between the child's logic and that of the adult. It is sometimes of moment to analyse this difference in order to enable the patient to understand his conflicts.

Thus the child is not acquainted with a logic of relations. An object is light or heavy, but not more or less heavy according to the object with which it is compared. Similarly, the child will consider itself beautiful or ugly, intelligent or stupid. This attitude lends their intensity to feelings of inferiority, deduced as they are from the absolute judgements characteristic of infancy.

4. Jeanne Lampl-de Groot (Vienna): The Influence of Infantile Masturbation on the later Development of Personality.

Observations on the connection between disturbances of the mature ego's capacity for achievement and the child's behaviour in regard to masturbation.

5. Edith Jacobsohn (Berlin): The Problem of Cure in the Analysis of Children.

Analytic therapy achieves relatively better and quicker results with the child than with the adult (neurotic structure looser and more easily reversed). But—from the standpoint of libidinal economics—the analytic process of cure is, in the case of the child, limited; it cannot provide more than a labile libidinal equilibrium, a compromise-result.

In the course of child-analysis, explosive break-through of impulse is

a ready occurrence. To keep out of the way of the conflicts resulting with the child's environment (family, school), the idea of instinctual control must at an opportune moment be made a living reality for him (Anna Freud), both in the interests of reality-adaptation, as of direct furtherance of the analysis (checks on too violent acting-out). Towards the end of treatment, however, the child—who has now attained to a genital position —strives eagerly after sensual satisfaction with objects (sexual games with other children). Examples. He finds the task prescribed for him by conventional morality of restricting his genital impulses a difficult proposition. The resolution of these difficulties for the most part follows the lines taken by the average normal child in overcoming his Œdipus conflicts, not through ' conscious condemnation ', but with the help of the mechanism of repression. The process of obtaining instinctual freedom is followed by a process of repression, of a milder order, and so not pathogenic. In most cases the latency period does not now occur, but masturbation is not free from anxiety, owing to its connection with forbidden unconscious wishes (other children, Œdipus-figures). Disturbances of an ' actual neurotic ' character may set in. If the wishes remain conscious, the child remains permanently in a situation of conflict, and in danger of relapse. In any case, the various kinds of outcome provide no more than a state of labile equilibrium. To clarify our therapeutic ideas, we compare these results with the curative aims of treatment of adult analysands: whereas we finally require the child to renounce sensual object-relations, we only pronounce the adult recovered when he is capable of sublimation, and *ready* for genital object-relations. That means, in the one case, a complete and stable psychic equilibrium, in the other, a labile one. If we subject the idea of ' conscious condemnation ' to the viewpoints of libidinal economics, it will be found to correspond to the ego's capacity for instinctual regulation on the basis of complete libidinal equilibrium. As the expansion of genitality freed from anxiety alone secures this, the analysed child—if he is to remain in accord with conventional morality—is incapable of ' conscious condemnation ', thus cannot compass the aims of cure which hold good for the adult.

6. Anna Freud (Vienna): The Problem of Puberty.

The parallels subsisting between the instinctual constellations of earliest childhood and puberty are further followed up and elucidated.

7. Siegfried Bernfeld (Vienna): Puberty in the Male.

A survey is given of the most important forms of development taken by puberty in the male. One of these receives detailed presentation as the ' primitive ' form, and its determinants are indicated. The relations of ' primitive puberty ' to asocial conditions are pointed out.

Business Meeting

Wednesday, August 29, 1934. 9 *a.m.*

Chairman : Dr. Ernest Jones

Members of Executive Present : Dr. Eitingon, Frl. Anna Freud, Dr. Ophuijsen.

The Chairman opened the meeting. He asked the Congress to sanction the presence of Dr. Martin Freud although he was only an associate member of the I.P.A., since, on the one hand, he had to submit a report on the work of the *Verlag* and, on the other, would act as reporter of the business meeting. This sanction was given.

The Chairman proposed that the Congress should send a telegram to Dr. Behn-Eschenburg—who had fallen seriously ill immediately after the opening reception—expressing the sympathy of the Congress and wishing him a speedy recovery. The proposal was received with applause and adopted unanimously.

I. Report of the Central Executive

Dr. Jones thereupon read the following Business Report:

'Some of us considered that the Report Dr. Eitingon laid before the last Congress was of a rosier colour than the actual condition of psycho-analysis warranted. In any event I am afraid that I cannot present a similar picture. On the contrary, I observe in various branches of the Association a spirit of disunity which causes me serious concern. Fortunately there are other sides to the picture that render it less sombre and which give one continued hope for the fruitful future of our common work.

'In America the situation is in many respects obscure. At the last Congress permission was given to the American Psycho-Analytical Association to resolve itself into an executive body of all American Societies, to act as an examining body for all future Societies and in general to function as an intermediate link between the Congress of the Association and the individual branch Societies in America. This promising arrangement, which had been carried through with Dr. Eitingon's help, has met with an unexpected obstacle. So much opposition was evinced to the proposed constitution that our American colleagues decided last spring to suspend it until it should be found possible to agree on an amended Constitution. This will be an important matter for us to discuss this morning and it seems to me to be an occasion when we, by our greater psychological ' distance ' in respect of the problem, may be able to come to the assistance of our perplexed colleagues.

'In the New York Society itself one hears rumours of tension existing between sub-groups, but I know of no definite issue to bring before you. The educational work, led by Dr. Rado, has been unintermittent and must therefore lead to profitable results. In Chicago the promising partnership

between Drs. Alexander and Horney has been dissolved and Dr. Horney is about to settle in New York. I may say here that I had the opportunity on his recent visit to London of conversing with Dr. Stern, who has done so much for the Institute in Chicago, and was pleased to observe how much at heart he has the furtherance of psycho-analysis there and elsewhere. A new group of high quality has been formed in Boston, where there are several well-known analysts such as Drs. Coriat, Hendrick and Peck. I may add that Dr. Hanns Sachs has transferred his unique training capacities from Berlin to Boston. The American Federation has expressed its approval of the new Society and we are going to ask you to ratify its incorporation into the International Association. The Washington-Baltimore group, though small, is active. It has the ambition of in time possessing its own Institute, but that is a matter that concerns the International Training Commission rather than this meeting.

'The British Society is next on my alphabetical list. Just as a contented country has no history, so is there little to relate of this Society. Progress in scientific work and in training has been steadily maintained, and we have of late extended our work in the field of public lectures. The membership now totals sixty, approximately the same as in New York and Vienna. Two events of interest have occurred. In Johannesburg a small group has been formed under the leadership of Dr. Wulf Sachs, whose presence at this Congress we welcome, and it promises to become the nucleus of a future South African Society. Dr. Perls of Berlin has recently joined it, and it is likely that other Europeans will do the same. The group applied for affiliation to the British Society as a study group pending its future evolution, a request to which we have acceded. The other matter is the advent of several psycho-analysts from Germany. We now have eight of these as members of our Society, two of whom came before the recent political happenings, and we have found them in every way a welcome addition to our strength.

'The Dutch Society, on the other hand, has given the Central Executive much concern. A dissension arose on various topics and the President, Dr. Van Ophuijsen, considering harmonious work with his colleagues to be no longer possible, resigned and founded a new Society. Though the issue itself was not clearly defined and the need for the schism could only be deplored on general principles, the Central Executive felt they should approve Dr. Van Ophuijsen's step and so gave a provisional acceptance to the new Society. This is at present a small group of some ten members, which include the previous President, Dr. Van Emden, Dr. Landauer, Dr. Katan and Dr. Reik. Dr. de Monchy was elected President of the old Society and he has promised me to ask his Society to adopt a distinctive title so as to avoid confusion. Their work, of course, continues, as does that of the Amsterdam Study group. Dr. Westerman-Holstijn has been

appointed Privatdocent of 'Psycho-Analysis of the Psychoses' at the University of Amsterdam, the first time psycho-analysis has been officially recognized in the Netherlands as a University subject.

'In France the chief event has been the creation of the Institut Psychanalytique de Paris on the initiative of Madame Marie Bonaparte, who also functions as its Directress. Though directed towards the outer world more than is customary with us, this Institute also organizes the training of students along approved lines and is undoubtedly destined to play a highly important part in the future development of psycho-analysis in France. Another event has been the founding of the Association des Psychanalystes de France, the main function of which appears to be the regulating of therapeutic practice and of the conditions of membership of the Society.

'So far my Report appears to alternate between good and bad news from various Societies. We come now to our greatest *Sorgenkind*, the German Society. I will preface what I have to say here by remarking that this whole matter has aroused diverse emotions which tend to interfere with any objective view of the situation. In any discussion of it there is one consideration that should surely be paramount: the best way of favouring opportunities for psycho-analytic work for members of the German Society, for those who remain in Germany and for those who have left that country. Both of these groups are working under exceptional difficulties and so need our sympathetic help. I trust we shall give it to both unstintingly. The facts to record are these: In the last few years the German Society has lost by emigration nearly a half of its former membership. This loss has been one of quality as well as quantity, since it comprises most of those whose contributions had given them an outstanding name in the world. The emigration belongs to two periods: before and after the advent of the present political *régime* in Germany. Belonging to the earlier period are the names of Alexander, Harnik, Karen Horney, Melanie Klein, Rado, Sachs and Melitta Schmideberg; to the later are those of Bernfeld, Eitingon, Fenichel, Landauer, Reich, Reik and Simmel. The mere mention of such names is enough to indicate the loss the German Society has sustained. It will be noted, however, that only the minority of emigrants were of German nationality, having themselves immigrated to Germany in more favourable days; for instance, I think this was so with only three out of the fourteen prominent names I have just mentioned. Most of the emigrants have found welcome among other psycho-analytical groups. Many of them have satisfactory positions and opportunities for work, but many others—especially the younger members—are still experiencing considerable difficulty in this respect and are properly the subject of our serious concern. The majority of the German and non-Jewish members remained in their own country in spite of the hardships

and difficulties they have to face there. Therefore psycho-analysis is still practised in Germany and psycho-analytic work has suffered no interruption even in these troubled times. Nevertheless the actions of those who remained have been the subject of much criticism, some of it being of a very resentful kind. This has particularly centred about the person of the present leader, Dr. Boehm. No doubt different opinions can legitimately be held concerning the wisdom of various steps taken by Dr. Boehm, but the value of such opinions must depend on the holder being in possession of the relevant facts. I have known of strong opinions being voiced in ignorance of these facts, which is itself evidence of non-rational factors being at work. I will only add that Dr. Boehm first personally consulted Professor Freud in April, 1933, in anticipation of critical junctures which did in fact subsequently arise, and that he then took an early opportunity of giving me, as President, a faithful report of all that had happened,in personal interviews I had with him and other colleagues in Holland in the October of the same year. I have reason to hope that the services Dr. Boehm has rendered to psycho-analysis will survive any temporary criticism he may have to endure.

'As a result of all this there is one practical matter which I wish to submit to this meeting, namely the question of membership. It has been suggested that we create a new kind of membership of the International Association, one devoid of any local attachment. Someone wittily likened this to the Geneva passport, or—to retain analytical terminology—one might describe it as a ' free floating ' membership. I am not myself fully convinced of the need for this, and I would couple with it the problem of double membership, a practice which of late has become in my opinion undesirably frequent. Those responsible for keeping records of the membership of the International Association, the size and growth of individual branches, etc., are finding their work in this respect increasingly complicated. I ask whether we could not abide by the old rule that every member of the Association is so by virtue of belonging to one branch Society only, that this Society should whenever possible be that of the country where the member resides, and that when circumstances prevent this, special permission be obtained for adherence to some other Society. I am not aware of any cases that would not be covered by this rule and it would certainly make for simplification.

'In Hungary the chief event has been the loss of the Founder and President of the Society. Dr. Hollós, who had previously shared Dr. Ferenczi's official duties, is now carrying on the tradition he left behind him, and the work of the Society continues actively. From India we have the news that the President, Dr. Bose, met with a grave motor accident, but we are reassured to learn that he has made a good recovery. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of Calcutta University have desired me

officially to convey the good wishes of that University to this Congress, and I have pleasure in doing so. Psycho-analysis has found a place in the curriculum in all psychological departments of the various Indian Universities, and at the Carmichael Medical College in Calcutta a Psychological Clinic has been established where psycho-analytic methods are those most used. There are at present ten graduates being trained at the Indian Psycho-Analytical Institute.

'The Italian group, headed by our valued colleague Dr. Weiss, is making slow but steady progress. Its development, however, is still insufficient to warrant our recommending the Association to incorporate it as a branch Society.

'In Japan an interesting development has taken place. We received a visit last year from Professor Marui of the University of Sendai, in the north of Japan. We had known something of his translation activities and that he edited a Journal of Psycho-Analysis. Personal contact with him showed that he possessed an extensive knowledge of the subject, and we learned that he had created a school in his neighbourhood, one in which didactic training analyses were carried out. In the circumstances we decided to accept this group as a constituent Society of the Association and I shall ask you for your ratification. At the same time I wrote to Mr. Yabe, the President of the previous Japanese Society, and suggested that its title be changed so that a general Japanese Association to be formed in the future should include all the Japanese groups. Mr. Yabe promptly replied with the courtesy for which his nation is so famous and which we Westerners might do well to emulate. The result is that there now exist two groups in Japan united by friendly bonds: the Tokio Psycho-Analytical Society and the Sendai Psycho-Analytical Society.

'It is but natural that the recent kind of diaspora should have produced effects in Palestine, and a compensatory gain for us is that it has now proved possible to establish a Psycho-Analytical Society there. This has been purchased, however, at a heavy cost, for the Founder and President of the new Society is Dr. Eitingon, whose presence in Europe we shall sadly miss. Pending your ratification we have accepted the new Society, which bears the appropriate title of the Chevrah Psychoanalytith b'Erez Israel (= Israelite Psycho-Analytical Brotherhood).

'From Russia we have, as usual, no direct news and Dr. Wulff, the former President there, has emigrated to Palestine, where he is a member of the local group. We received last year the request that we accept a Scandinavian Psycho-Analytical Union composed of members from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. This was a novel idea and there is something to be said for it. There is no doubt that psycho-analysis is at last showing definite signs of progress in these Northern countries, but we are not sure whether a further period of development would not be desirable

before constituting these branch groups of the Association; the matter will, however, doubtless come up for discussion.

'In Switzerland psycho-analysis holds its own in rather difficult circumstances. Perhaps the most interesting event there has been the awarding of an honorary doctorate to Pfarrer Pfister 'en considération de ses importants travaux sur le domaine de la psychanalyse, de la pédagogie religieuse, de la théorie pastorale et de la psychologie de l'inconscient'. It is a pleasure to congratulate an old friend and colleague on this well-earned distinction.

'The Vienna Society has been in every respect unusually active. The scientific and training work has been maintained at its high level, but there have been no new departures in the institutions there. It has experienced special concern at the situation in Germany, the political changes and uncertainties in Austria itself and the difficulties of the Verlag, topics we are dealing with at another moment. Several members and students have proceeded to Vienna from Germany and, as Dr. Federn, the Vice-President, informs me, the Society has found itself enriched by their welcome presence. We have approved of the Vienna Society adopting a branch affiliation in Prague, led by Frau Dr. Deri, pending the probable development of the small group there into an independently organized Society.

'The International Association has sustained exceptionally heavy losses through death since the date of the last Congress. Above all we have lost Dr. Ferenczi, the Founder of the Association and the chief inspiration of our Congresses. By a series of mischances, and generous self-abnegation on his part, the Association as a whole never had the opportunity of electing him its President, though he gave us the pleasure of presiding over one of its Congresses in The Hague in 1920. What Ferenczi meant to the scientific development of psycho-analysis has already been described in our official organs; we should most of us agree in naming him the most original contributor after Freud himself. At our gatherings we knew him as an inspiring speaker, an enthusiastic stimulus for fresh thought, a gracious presence and a loyal and devoted friend. His loss is the heaviest of blows.

'A close friend of Ferenczi's survived him only a little over a year. I refer to Dr. Georg Groddeck of Baden-Baden. Though hardly to be counted among the regular ranks of psycho-analysts, Groddeck will long be remembered both for personal reasons and for the freshness of his mental outlook. He contributed a number of ideas that influenced psycho-analysis, and one of them is incorporated in a word we use every day, the 'id' (*das Es*); as is well known, Freud took over this word from him, though the concept he designated by it was by no means identical with Groddeck's. Groddeck had a remarkable personality and those who were

present on the first occasion he addressed a Psycho-Analytical Congress, in Berlin in 1922, will not soon forget the impression he made.

'America has lost one of its analytical pioneers in the person of Dr. Pierce Clark. He was one of the original members of the first Society founded there, well before the war, and he continued active research until the moment of his death. His life's ambition was to apply psycho-analytic methods to the obscure problems of epilepsy and mental deficiency, fields he did much to open to psycho-analysis.

'Berlin has suffered the loss of Frau Dr. Naef, a woman whose striking personality gave her an influence much greater than strangers might suppose from her writings. I first met her in Zürich in 1907 and always esteemed her as a valued colleague.

'France also has not been spared. Death has visited the group there for the first time in the person of Madame Sokolnicka. She will long be remembered as the first person to practise psycho-analysis in France.

'We have lost another pioneer in the person of Dr. Ossipov, one of the original members of the Russian Society. He had settled in Prague after the revolution, where he died last winter.

'The Vienna Society has also sustained a loss in the person of Dr. Morgenthau. Although his interest in psycho-analysis was comparatively recent, he had identified himself completely with its teaching.

'I will ask you to rise as an expression of your respect for these colleagues whose loss we deplore.

'As I have mentioned, there are seven new centres of psycho-analytical activities to bring to your notice. Two are small groups, in Johannesburg and Prague, which have been affiliated to the British and Vienna Societies respectively. Of the Scandinavian group I have already spoken. I now ask you to ratify the action of the Central Executive in accepting the following new Societies: the Boston Psycho-Analytical Society, the Society of Psycho-Analysts in Holland, the Palestine Psycho-Analytical Society and the Sendai Psycho-Analytical Society.'

The Meeting received the President's Report with great applause. He thereupon moved that, in accordance with the proposal of the Central Executive, the following four groups be admitted to the I.P.A. This motion was carried unanimously.

The Boston Psycho-Analytical Society.

Chevrah Psychoanalytith b'Erez Israel (Palestine Psycho-Analytical Society).

Sendai Psycho-Analytical Society.

Vereeniging van Psychoanalytici in Nederland (Society of Psycho-Analysts in Holland).

Dr. Eitingon drew the attention of the Congress to the fact that in the list of members of the newly-formed Palestine Group (which had been

printed in the Congress Calendar for the first time) the names of the two honorary members were unfortunately missing. These were Dr. M. D. Eder, London, and Frl. Anna Freud, Vienna.

Professor Kristian Schjelderup then applied to be heard. He stated that already several years ago efforts had been initiated to combine the psycho-analysts of the northern countries, namely, Denmark, Finland Norway and Sweden, into a group within the circle of the I.P.A. The interest in psycho-analysis in those countries was growing rapidly, and a union of the psycho-analysts was all the more imperative, since certain ' wild ' psycho-analysts—who none the less called themselves psycho-analysts—had combined into a group in October, 1933 and their activities constituted a danger for the work of the genuine psycho-analysts.

Professor Schjelderup's remarks led to a long debate, in which, more particularly, the Chairman, Dr. Eitingon, Dr. Fenichel, Frl. Anna Freud, Dr. Sachs, Dr. Ophuijsen, and several members of the Scandinavian group took part. It was finally resolved to suspend the discussion of this matter and to take it up again at a later stage of the meeting. An alteration in the statutes—which was to be adopted as a resolution in the meantime—might enable the Congress to reach a decision more easily.

II. Report of the General Treasurer

The General Treasurer, Dr. Ophuijsen, submitted the financial report. He stated that the final accounts showed that the funds standing to the credit of the I.P.A. to date amounted to approximately Dutch Gulden 1380.— and RM.4063.98. The Mark credit balance—the interest on which was 7 per cent.—is part of the *Verlag* account and at present inaccessible. He appealed to all the Treasurers of Branch Societies to discharge their duty and quoted instances of dilatoriness which had occurred. The General Treasurer proposed a reduction in the annual subscription for the years 1935 and 1936 to Sw. Frs. 6 (or its equivalent). The arrears still owing by individual groups would naturally still have to be paid. The Branch Societies which were to be newly admitted would have to send their annual subscription for 1934 to the General Treasurer as soon as possible on the old basis (RM.8 per annum).

The Meeting gave its unanimous approval to the General Treasurer's report and his proposal to fix the annual subscription at Sw. Frs. 6 was adopted unanimously.

III. Report of the President of the International Training Commission

Dr. Eitingon, as President of the I.T.C., gave the following report:

' As you will be hearing the reports of the Institutes of Berlin, Vienna, London, New York and Chicago, and so on, I have little to say by way of

introduction. You know in what a systematic way the work is being conducted and, above all, how closely it follows guiding principles which are really much the same everywhere and which have crystallized out of the fifteen years' experience of psycho-analytical Institutes which we now have behind us. In the past few years, a number of new societies have been formed, all of which also have their Training Committees. Now whilst all these are working on uniform lines and whilst the nature of a psycho-analytical training, together with its component parts, is by now self-evident to all psycho-analysts, the time has nevertheless come to pull our psychological instruction together and to organize it rather more strictly. That, accordingly, is the reason why the reports of the I.T.C. are now no longer being issued by the General Secretary, but will appear in the Bulletin under the editorship of the President of the I.T.C. The Secretaries of the Branch Societies have been notified that the I.T.C. reports are henceforth to be sent regularly to the President of the I.T.C., and I would now add the request to the Institutes and the various Training Committees to send also an internal report about the activities of the Institutes to me in Jerusalem (my address there is, of course, known). These reports are not intended for publication, but will give me an insight into the inner life and activities of the Institutes and Training Committees, and enable me to grasp better and more precisely than hitherto what is happening in the different centres. From all these data we shall then be able to select the matters which should engage the attention of the I.T.C. at its meetings between the Congresses.

'For this is the innovation which I wish to propose to you, namely, that in the years when there is no Congress the I.T.C. should meet at about the same season, on the Continent (in Vienna or Paris), in order to discuss important matters in the teaching and training of psycho-analysis, and various other problems for which the time is now ripe or which arise out of special local conditions, and so on.

'In order to enlarge the scope of the I.T.C. in this way, an alteration of the relevant paragraph in our statutes will be necessary and will in fact be proposed by the Secretary of the I.T.C. The Standing Rules of the I.T.C. are, of course, fixed by itself, and these also will be put before you, as it was not possible to arrange a session of the I.T.C. prior to the Business Meeting to-day, and it will not take place until to-morrow evening.

'The future of our movement centres without doubt in our Institutes, the places where we learn and teach and pursue our researches, and we certainly do well to take the most earnest thought for them.'

The report was received with applause.

Dr. Jones proposed that the Congress should in future be content with Collective Reports. This proposal was adopted. However, it remains permissible to render separate reports in particular cases, if desired.

IV. *Verlag* Committee

Dr. Sarasin, in his capacity of Secretary of the *Verlag* Committee, reported as follows:

He reminded the Congress that the action taken on behalf of the *Verlag* owed its origin to a suggestion of Professor Freud's, and pointed out that, in view of its shattered financial state, the task of putting it on a sound basis was a very difficult one, which could be achieved only by the co-operation of all the members and friends of the I.P.A. In the name of the *Verlag* Committee, he thanked the private donors, whose contributions on behalf of the *Verlag* exceeded even those of the Societies. Dr. Sarasin thereupon described the close collaboration between the *Verlag* Committee and the business management of the *Verlag*, and the control exercised over the expenditure of the funds raised in order to place the *Verlag* on a sound basis.

Thereupon Dr. Martin Freud, as Business Manager of the *Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag*, reported on the work of reconstruction and on the activities of the *Verlag* since the Wiesbaden Congress. Among other data, he gave the following figures: The various Branch Societies of the I.P.A. had raised donations to a total of S. 100,000 (Austrian schillings). Germany headed the list with about S. 20,000; next came the U.S.A., with about S. 17,000, Vienna, with about S. 16,000, England, with about S. 15,000, and Switzerland, with about S. 11,000, and so on. Individual persons had together raised the sum of S. 165,000 for the reconstruction of the *Verlag*. Heading this list was Dr. E. B. Jackson, who had contributed about S. 40,000, Dr. Brill, with about S. 38,000, including sums collected by him, Princess Bonaparte, with about S. 22,000, Professor Freud, with about S. 20,000, Dr. Eitingon, with about S. 18,000, Mrs. Macpherson, with about S. 9,000, Dr. Sachs, with about S. 5,000, and so on.

The Business Management sought, as its first task, to abolish the annual deficit, which in previous years had amounted to as much as S. 100,000, since the continuance of such a deficit made any successful reconstruction impossible in advance. They had in fact succeeded in avoiding any deficit at all for the year 1933. For 1934, however, the Management again anticipated a deficit as, owing to developments in Germany, sales were constantly going down. It was, however, expected that this deficit would remain within tolerable limits.

Far-reaching economies had been effected. When paying off their various creditors they had managed to secure reductions amounting to S. 33,000. The production of books and periodicals was now costing the *Verlag* only about half as much as it had had to pay prior to the reconstruction. Expenditure on advertising, which in 1930, for example, had consumed the sum of S. 75,000, had been almost wholly eliminated. In the first half of 1934 not even S. 1,000 had been spent on this purpose.

'Overhead expenses' and salaries had also been brought down very greatly. It was gratifying, above all, that the chief object of the reconstruction had been fully accomplished, inasmuch as the huge load of debt had been completely wiped out. Only the debt to Professor Freud, and several smaller debts to some of the Societies and to some analysts, remained unpaid. The Business Manager then gave a brief report of the work of the *Verlag* since the Wiesbaden Congress, its new publications and new editions, in particular the issue of Vol. XII of the '*Gesamt-Ausgabe*' (Complete Edition).

The Chairman expressed his appreciation of the work accomplished by Dr. Freud. The Congress associated itself with the Chairman's remarks by applause.

Dr. Federn drew the attention of the Congress to the regrettable state of affairs which had arisen out of the precarious financial position of the *Verlag*, in that books can only be published by authors who are in a position themselves to defray the cost of printing. A privilege in favour of writers who are well-to-do had thus been established—one which he felt to be extremely oppressive. There was need to place funds at the disposal of the *Verlag*, to enable it also to print the books of those authors who cannot defray the costs entailed.

The Chairman asked the Congress whether the *Verlag* Committee was to continue in existence after the completed reconstruction of the *Verlag*, in which case he proposed the election of the following additional members to serve on the Committee:

Dr. Max Eitingon.
Frl. Anna Freud.
Dr. E. B. Jackson.
Mrs. Winifred Macpherson.
Dr. Hanns Sachs.

It was unanimously resolved to continue the *Verlag* Committee and to elect the five members proposed as well. (Dr. Ophuijsen resigned his position on the *Verlag* Committee.)

V. Journals

The Chairman proposed the introduction of a series of changes which had the object of ensuring the stable continuance of the Official Journals. The I.P.A. would take over the financial responsibility for the publication of these Journals. In future every member of the I.P.A. would be under the obligation to subscribe to two official journals, whereas hitherto such an obligation had only been placed on members living in German-speaking countries. Members would be free to choose to which of the Official Journals they wished to subscribe. The receipts from the subscriptions

to the different Journals would be brought into a common fund, and this fund would be administered by the General Treasurer, with the assistance of Dr. Martin Freud. The Chairman anticipated that international co-operation would be greatly strengthened and also more easily achieved as a result of these changes.

Dr. Lewin raised objections to the project in view of the fact that the American Societies did not possess an official organ of their own.

Dr. Löwenstein, on behalf of the French Society, expressed doubts about the Chairman's proposal, on the ground that the members of that Society were solely interested in the French journal, since on account of their lack of knowledge of foreign languages, they could not make use of journals which were not published in French.

The Chairman remarked in this connection that it was quite impossible to carry on international co-operative work on the basis of ignorance of all but one language. If it was really true that the French members read only the small proportion of psycho-analytic works that are published in French, then his present suggestion would surely afford them a welcome stimulus and opportunity for remedying an obviously unsatisfactory state of affairs.

The Chairman then submitted the following suggestion to the Congress : At present, Professor Freud directs the publication of the four Official Journals (the French *Revue* appears under the ' patronage ' of Professor Freud). What is to be done if Professor Freud is no longer able to act in this capacity ? In that event the publication of the official organs of the Association could only be carried out by a special committee appointed by the Congress, and Professor Freud had already expressed his willingness to him both to transfer his rights to such a committee and to serve as a member of it.

The Congress resolved not to take any immediate decision on these two issues (the suggested innovations concerning the obligation to subscribe and the direction of the official organs), but to appoint a Committee to inquire into the matter and to prepare proposals for a decision at the next Congress. The following five members were elected to serve on the Committee in question : Anna Freud, Ernest Jones, René Laforgue, Bertram Lewin, Philipp Sarasin.

VI. General

On the subject of the programme of the next Congress, Dr. Rado moved the following resolution :

' That the Congress give the Central Executive full power to make such arrangements for the next Congress, in regard to the choice of the scientific papers to be read, etc., as the Central Executive considered suitable and necessary, having regard to the conditions then obtaining.'

This resolution was carried unanimously, amidst applause.

Dr. Rado suggested that the Council, in conjunction with the *Verlag*, should take responsibility for revising the invaluable Glossary that had been published in London some years ago, and added that there was an equal need for a German Glossary. The Chairman promised to attend to this matter.

In regard to those members who, on account of external circumstances, had had to give up their membership of a particular Branch Society, but whose membership of the I.P.A. ought to be preserved in some way, Dr. Eitingon moved the following resolution :

' Resignation from a Branch Society, or the loss of such membership, shall not necessarily entail loss of membership of the I.P.A. On the application of a member resigning or being expelled from a Branch Society, the Central Executive may at its discretion declare that his membership in the I.P.A. shall remain in force as a direct membership until the Congress next following. This provision shall, however, apply solely to the members of those European Societies which were already in existence in the year 1912, with the exception of the Vienna Group.'

This proposal was carried unanimously.

A prolonged debate arose on the question of the reorganization of the American Psycho-Analytic Association, in which in particular Dr. Lewin, Dr. Menninger and other members of the American Societies took part. Finally, Dr. Rado moved the following resolution :

' *Resolution proposed by the Central Executive of the I.P.A.:* The Congress notes with regret that the reorganization of the American Psycho-Analytic Association (a Federation of American Psycho-Analytic Societies), which was initiated at the Wiesbaden Congress, has not been completed. The Congress takes cognizance of the fact that the Federation of the Boston, Chicago, New York and Washington-Baltimore Psycho-Analytic Societies has appointed a committee of four members to draft a tentative constitution ; it hopes that this Federation will with all possible expedition agree upon a final draft in accord with the statutes and traditions of the I.P.A. and submit it to the Central Executive of the I.P.A. The Central Executive will then consider this constitution for temporary ratification, awaiting its final acceptance by the next Congress.'

This resolution was adopted by a majority of votes.

Alterations in the Statutes

The following alterations were adopted :

(*a*) Art. 4.—After the first paragraph the following paragraph is to be inserted : ' If a Branch Society injures the prestige or interests of the I.P.A. through its conduct, the Central Executive is empowered to suspend it temporarily, whilst the Congress is empowered to expel it from the fellowship of the I.P.A.

' In the event of disputes arising between Branch Societies, the arbitral decision of the Central Executive must be invoked before all else.'

(*b*) Art. 5.—The last clause shall read : ' who shall forward them to the General Treasurer before the 1st of July in each year '.

(*c*) Art. 6.—In the section concerning the consideration and adoption of resolutions, point (*d*) ' The reports on the activities of the Psycho-Analytical Institutes (Clinics, etc.) ' is to be deleted.

In points (*f*) and (*g*), for the words ' of the President of the International Training Commission ', substitute the words ' of the Executive of the International Training Commission.'

(*d*) The first two paragraphs of Art. 7 are amended to read as follows :

' The Central Executive shall consist of the President, the Secretary, the Treasurer and four members of the Council as advisers to the President.

' The President and the Treasurer shall be elected by the Congress to serve till the next Congress. The Secretary shall be chosen by the President, whose choice shall be submitted to the Congress for its ratification. Of the advisory members, one must be the last ex-President, and another the President of the American Psycho-Analytic Association. The remaining two advisory members shall be elected by the Congress to serve until the next Congress. In the event of a vacancy arising in the Executive, the Executive itself shall elect a substitute.'

The last paragraph of Art. 7 remains unaltered.

(*e*) Art. 8 is amended to read as follows :

' The International Training Commission (I.T.C.) is the Central Organ of the I.P.A. for the organization and supervision of psycho-analytical training and for the administration of all business affairs of the I.P.A. relating to psycho-analytical training.

' The I.T.C. consists of its Council, the Training Committees of the recognized Training Institutes and the Training Committees of the recognized Training Centres. The Council of the I.T.C., which consists of a President, a Secretary and a member of the Council, will be elected by the Congress to serve until the next Congress. The Training Committee of each recognized Training Institute may consist of a maximum number of seven members, the Training Committee of each recognized Training Centre of a maximum number of three members. It is desired that each Training Committee shall appoint a Chairman and a Secretary.

' The I.T.C. draws up its own Standing Rules. All decisions within the competence of the I.T.C. will be made by the Council of the I.T.C. for the period till the next Congress, and will be made finally by the Plenary Meeting of the I.T.C.'

(*f*) Art. 10.—The last two sentences of Art. 10 are amended to read as follows :

' The General Section of the Bulletin of the I.P.A. will be edited by the

General Secretary of the I.P.A. and the Training section by the Secretary of the I.T.C. The Secretaries of the Branch Societies and the Secretaries of the Training Committees shall send in their reports at regular intervals to the General Secretary or to the Secretary of the I.T.C. respectively.'

All the foregoing alterations in the Statutes were unanimously adopted by the Congress amidst applause.

The President put anew to the vote the question of the admission of the Scandinavian groups, which had already been discussed at an earlier stage, and declared, in the name of the Central Executive, that after private discussion they could agree in substituting a proposal that two new Societies be formed : A Danish-Norwegian and a Finnish-Swedish. In accordance therewith, these two new Societies were admitted unanimously amidst applause.

VII. Election of President of the International Training Commission

Dr. Max Eitingon was elected as *President of the I.T.C.* amidst great applause. There were further elected :

Member of Council : Anna Freud,
Secretary : Sandor Rado,

both unanimously and amidst applause.

VIII. Election of the Central Executive

Dr. Ernest Jones was re-elected *President of the I.P.A.*, amidst great applause.

The Chairman informed the Meeting that Anna Freud, who had hitherto acted as General Secretary, had resigned her position, being overburdened with an inordinate amount of work in other directions. In accordance with the new Statute, Dr. Edward Glover was elected as the General Secretary. The Chairman pointed out that Dr. Brill, as President of the American Federation, would automatically again become a member of the Central Executive ; this applied also to Dr. Max Eitingon, the last President of the I.P.A. As further Members of the *Central Executive*, the following were elected :

Anna Freud.
Dr. van Ophuijsen.
Dr. Sarasin, *General Treasurer*.

These were all agreed to unanimously, amidst applause.

On the motion of Dr. Kris, the Congress discharged and thanked the retiring Central Executive.

REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

THE AMERICAN PSYCHO-ANALYTIC ASSOCIATION

(A Federation of the American Psycho-Analytic Societies)

The thirty-second meeting of the American Psycho-Analytic Association was held at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, on May 30, 1934. The President, Dr. A. A. Brill, presided at all sessions. The American Psycho-Analytic Association has met co-jointly with the American Psychiatric Association heretofore at its annual meeting. This year the Association met with the new Section of the American Psychiatric Association on Psycho-Analysis.

At this meeting a Symposium on the Relation of Psycho-Analysis to Psychiatry was given. 'Introductory Comments on the Relation of Psycho-Analysis to Psychiatry' were made by Dr. A. A. Brill; Dr. Leland E. Hinsie presented 'The Relationship of Psycho-Analysis to Psychiatry'; this was continued by Dr. Ross McClure Chapman with a paper on 'Psycho-Analysis in Psychiatric Hospitals'; the Symposium was concluded by Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan's exposition on 'Psychiatric Training a Prerequisite to Psycho-Analytic Practice.' The Private Session of the American Psycho-Analytic Association was convened on the afternoon of the same day. Papers entitled 'Masculine and Feminine in the Three Psychic Systems', by Fritz Wittels, M.D., 'A Psycho-Analytic Observation on Essential Hypertension', by Lewis B. Hill, M.D., and 'Fairy Tales and Neurosis', by Sandor Lorand, M.D., were presented.

On the evening of May 31, Dr. Lewin acted as Moderator of a Round Table, the subject for which was 'Clinical Forms of Neurosis and Character Disorder as encountered in Present-Day Practice.'

These papers evoked extensive discussion. There was an unusually large attendance at the annual meeting.

The routine business, including election of officers, was postponed.

Ernest E. Hadley, M.D.
Secretary.

BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1934

April 18, 1934. Discussion: On Bad Habits in Childhood. The discussion was opened by the following: Dr. Isaacs, Dr. Schmideberg, Miss Sheehan-Dare and Dr. Winnicott.

May 2, 1934. Conclusion of discussion on the 'Questionnaire on Technique.'

May 16, 1934. Dr. Eder: 'Masochistic Behaviour and Phantasy.'

June 6, 1934. (1) Dr. Karin Stephen: 'Some Notes on the Development of Reality Sense.'

(2) Miss Searl: 'Sensation and Emotion as Factors in Reality Development.'

June 20, 1934. Lt.-Col. C. D. Daly: 'The Mother-Goddesses and the Menstruation Complex.'

Edward Glover,
Scientific Secretary.

Third Quarter, 1934

July 11, 1934. *Annual Meeting.* 1. The Reports of the Secretaries, Treasurer and Librarian were submitted to the meeting and approved.

2. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: Dr. Ernest Jones; *Scientific Secretary:* Dr. Glover; *Business Secretary:* Dr. Payne; *Treasurer:* Dr. Bryan; *Members of Council:* Dr. Eder, Dr. Stoddart, Dr. Adrian Stephen. *Training Committee:* Dr. Glover, Dr. Jones, Mrs. Klein, Dr. Payne, Dr. Rickman, Miss Sharpe. *Librarian:* Miss Low.

Members of Library Sub-Committee: Dr. Brierley, Dr. Middlemore, Mr. Strachey.

3. The Associate Members were re-elected, with the exception of Mr. Kapp who had tendered his resignation.

4. *Election of Associate Members:* Dr. Matthew and Dr. Middlemore.

5. *Election of Member:* Dr. Herford.

6. Number of Members, 34; Associate Members, 26; Hon. Members, 2; Total, 62.

7. The President informed the meeting that Dr. Brierley had been appointed assistant secretary to the Scientific and Business secretaries by the Council.

S. M. Payne,
Business Secretary.

Addresses

Dr. Eder, 3 Devonshire Place, W.1.
Mrs. Klein, 42 Clifton Hill, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.
Dr. David Matthew, 59 Holland Park, W.11.
Dr. Merell Middlemore, 12 Kent Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.1.

CHICAGO PSYCHO-ANALYTIC SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1934

January 6, 1934. (1) Dr. Karen Horney and Dr. N. Lionel Blitzsten: Report of the Washington Conference of the American Psycho-Analytic Association. (2) Discussion of the Symposium on the Relation of Masturbation to Neurosis. (*b*) *Business Meeting.*

February 3, 1934. Dr. Karen Horney : ' Female Masochism '.

February 24, 1934. *Business Meeting :* Dr. H. S. Lippmann transferred his membership from the New York to the Chicago Psycho-Analytic Society.

March 10, 1934. (*a*) *Business Meeting : Election of Honorary Member :* Mr. A. K. Stern.

(*b*) *Scientific Meeting :* Report of the investigation carried out by the Institute for Psycho-Analysis on the subject of the influence of psychological factors upon gastric and intestinal disturbances :

1. Dr. Franz Alexander : ' General Principles, Objectives and Preliminary Results.'

2. Dr. Catherine Bacon : ' Typical Personality Trends and Conflicts in Cases of Gastric Disturbances.'

3. Dr. George W. Wilson : ' Typical Personality Trends and Conflicts in Cases of Spastic Colitis.'

Second Quarter, 1934

April 14, 1934. Dr. Silverberg (New York City) : ' Novel Methodologies in the Psycho-Analytic Study of Literature.'

April 28, 1934. Short Clinical Communications : Drs. Alexander, Menninger and Eisler.

May 19, 1934. *Business Meeting.*

May 29, 1934. *Extraordinary Business Meeting* in New York, in conjunction with the American Psycho-Analytic Association.

June 9, 1934. Dr. George W. Wilson : ' A case of Acute Laryngitis occurring as a Conversion-Symptom during analysis.'

June 23, 1934. *Election of Council. President :* Dr. Karl A. Menninger ; *Vice-President :* Dr. Thomas M. French ; *Secretary and Treasurer :* Dr. Helen Vincent McLean. Report of the Training Committee and of the Treasurer. Adjournment of the Meeting.

E. R. Eisler,
Secretary.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

List of Members

Professor Schjelderup, Kronprinsensgt. 19, Oslo.
Dr. Fenichel, Josephinegt. 18, Oslo. *Secretary.*
Dr. Hoel, Kronprinsensgt. 19, Oslo.
Dr. Landmark, Universitetsgt. 2, Oslo. *Member of Council.*
Dr. phil. Raknes, Gimlevn. 17, Oslo.

Dr. phil. Kr. Schjelderup, Bergen, Norway. *President.*
Mrs. F. Kramer, Plko, Brieza, Jela 7/33, Riga, Lettland.
Dr. Fenichel,
Oslo, Josephinegt. 18.

DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1934

January 27, 1934. (The Hague.) 1. *Annual Meeting :* In addition to the Council the following were elected to serve on the Training Committee : Dr. S. J. R. de Monchy, *President ;* A. Endtz, *Secretary ;* Dr. F. P. Muller, *Treasurer ;* Dr. A. J. Westerman-Holstijn and Dr. J. H. van der Hoop.

2. Professor Dr. K. H. Bouman and A. Endtz : ' Bull-Fights : their Psychological Significance.'

March 24, 1934. (Amsterdam) : Dr. J. H. van der Hoop : ' Character-Analysis by the method of Reich.'

Resignation of Membership : Dr. J. E. G. van Emden, 49 Sweelinck-plein, The Hague ; P. H. Versteeg, 3 Javastratt, The Hague.

Election of Associate Member : Dr. C. van der Heide, Neurologist, 17 Herculesstraat, Amsterdam.

Dr. A. J. Westerman-Holstijn has been appointed Honorary Lecturer (*Privat-Dozent*) in ' The Psycho-Analysis of Psychoses and Primitive Phenomena ', University of Amsterdam.

A. Endtz,
Secretary.

FINNISH-SWEDISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Members

Kulovesi, Dr. Yrjo, Tempere, Finland.
Tamm, Dr. Alfhild, Stockholm, Stureparken 2, *President Secretary.*

Associate Members

Ekman, phil. mag. Tore, Stockholm, Norrtullsgatan 27 b.
Nielsen, Dr. Nils, Stockholm, Nybrogatan 7, *Treasurer.*
Sandstrom, Dr. phil., Tora, Jungfrugatan 56, Stockholm.
Torngren, Dr. Pehr Henrik, Stockholm, Strandvagen 7 c.

FRENCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second and Third Quarters, 1934

No meetings were held during the month of May.

June 20, 1934. At a meeting in March certain lines were suggested for the re-organization of the Society. As these were still under consideration, it was decided to postpone discussion of the question until the autumn.

Dr. Borel opened the meeting with the sad news of the death of one of the earliest and most active members of the Society : Mme. Sokolnicka. Owing to the lateness of the hour it was agreed that the memorial address should be delivered at the next meeting. The President asked Dr. Leuba to read three letters of condolence received, from Dr. Jones, President of the International Psycho-Analytical Association, from Fräulein Freud, who expressed her own sympathy and that of the Vienna Society, and from the President of the German Psycho-Analytical Society. Dr. Parcheminey read a letter of thanks from Mme. Sokolnicka's family.

Scientific Meeting : Marie Bonaparte and Dr. Löwenstein : ' The Phallic Phase in Little Girls '. The principal point brought out in discussion was that an exact schematization is not easy and that there are still considerable gaps in our knowledge of the genital activity of children. It is only in exceptional cases that the analysis of adults provides us with exact data on which to base our theories. There is another difficulty in the fact that the term ' passivity ' is used even when a physical activity is involved, as in erection.

July 12, 1934. *Extraordinary Meeting at the Psycho-Analytical Institute.* The following questions were discussed :

1. The re-organization of the Society ; 2. Temporary arrangements for the training of psycho-analysts. At the meeting on March 17 it was agreed that the Society should be organized as a Syndicate. When the statutes were under discussion, a barrister who was consulted pointed out that there were certain difficulties which might arise if such a Syndicate were now formed. The object of the re-organization was to protect such psycho-analysts as possessed no French medical diploma and to prevent any possible friction with the medical profession. If a Syndicate were constituted, the Ministry of the Interior would be entitled to inspect the work of members, and it might take the view that they were failing to comply with the regulations governing medical practice. Hence it seemed advisable that the Society should be constituted under the title of ' *Association professionnelle de psychanalystes.*' Once it was recognized that this ' *Association* ' was of public service, it would be much easier to secure recognition as a Syndicate, the form in which it could best protect the interests of its members.

The new statutes had been drawn up by Mme. Marie Bonaparte, M. Pichon and M. Schiff and had been examined by a barrister of wide experience. They were read to the meeting and, after discussion, were unanimously adopted.

The Committee entrusted with the work of organizing the *Association* consists of the following members : Pichon, Laforgue, Codet, Borel, Schiff, Cénac and Löwenstein. The officers are chosen by the Committee itself.

Mme. Marie Bonaparte put forward a scheme of regulations for admission to the study and practice of psycho-analysis.

Dr. A. Borel appealed to the good-will of all members of the Society and requested that every member should undertake to conduct one analysis free of charge at Professor Henry Claude's Polyclinic. He suggested that it could not fail to make a good impression on the medical profession and the general public if the Society published an annual report of cases treated gratuitously by its members.

Dr. Borel undertook to collect observations of patients thus treated and to draw up an annual report of the results of treatment.

It was unanimously resolved that the annual subscription for members and associate members should be 150 francs and 125 francs respectively.

The next Conference of French-speaking psycho-analysts will probably be held in Paris in December, 1934.

Dr. J. Leuba,
Secretary.

GERMAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1934

April 17, 1934. 1. Dr. Boehm: Memorial Address on Dr. Elizabeth Naef. Dr. Vowinckel also contributed a vivid sketch of her life and personality.

2. Short Communication: Reading of Dr. Graber's paper: '*Eine Gespensterangst*' (a fragment of a child-analysis).

3. *Business Meeting:* The President announced that Dr. Bally had transferred his membership to the Swiss Society. The Council urged as many members as possible to attend the Psychotherapeutic Congress at Nauheim, May 10 to 13, when the organization of the faculty of psychotherapists in Germany would be discussed in detail.

April 24, 1934. Cand. phil. Wucherer (guest of the Society): 'Sexual Customs in Africa.'

May 8, 1934. Cand. phil. Wucherer (guest of the Society): 'Sexual Customs in Africa' (continued).

May 15, 1934. Vowinckel, March, Müller-Braunschweig, Schultz-Hencke and Boehm reported on the Congress of the German General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, held at Bad Nauheim, May 10 to 13.

June 16, 1934. 1. The President paid a tribute to the work of Eugenie Sokolnicka, who died recently in Paris.

2. Short communication: Müller-Braunschweig: 'Psycho-Analytical notes on the concept of personality.'

June 19, 1934. 1. The President paid a warm tribute to the memory of Georg Groddeck and discussed in detail the value of his literary works.

2. Dr. Barinbaum (guest of the Society): 'The Problem of the Psycho-Physical Relation with Special Reference to Dermatology.'

June 26, 1934. Short communications: 1. Else Fuchs: 'Narcosis and the Sensation of Suffocation'.

2. Reading of a communication by Dr. A. Gross, entitled: 'Secrets'.

Dr. Carl Müller-Braunschweig,
Secretary.

SOCIETY OF PSYCHO-ANALYSTS IN HOLLAND

Second Quarter, 1934

During this period scientific meetings have been held weekly. The following papers were read: 1. Van Ophuijsen and Landauer: 'Vicissitudes of the Oedipus Complex' (continued);

2. Reik: 'Psycho-Analytical Technique';

3. Cochran (guest of the Society): 'The Dangers of Widowhood'.

A clinical report was given fortnightly by Blok.

At a Business Meeting the programme for the coming year was drawn up.

A. M. Blok,
Secretary.

HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1934

April 13, 1934. Edith Gyömröi (guest of the Society): 'Notes from the Analysis of an Anal Character-type'.

April 27, 1934. Dr. M. Bálint: 'Pregenital and Extragenital: an Elucidation of the Fundamental Conceptions underlying these Terms'.

May 11, 1934. C. D. Daly (guest of the Society): 'Mythology and the Menstruation Complex'.

May 26, 1934. Memorial Meeting for Dr. S. Ferenczi:

Dr. I. Hollós opened the meeting with an Address.

Dr. I. Hermann contributed a Ferenczi Memorial Lecture entitled 'The Defensive and Curative Tendencies in Symptom-Formation'.

June 5, 1934. Lucy Pátzay-Liebermann (guest of the Society): 'Motor Regression'.

Election of Associate Member: Frau Edith Gyömröi, associate member of the German Psycho-Analytical Society, Budapest, II. Retek u. 33/35.

Change of Address: Dr. Gyula Szüts, Budapest, VI. Liszt Ferenc-tér 4.

Dr. Imre Hermann,
Secretary.

THE NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTIC SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1934

April 24, 1934. Dr. Lewin read from a copy of the *New York Times*, April 23, 1934, a citation honouring Dr. Brill with the Alumni Meritorious

Service Award of New York University, his *alma mater*. The citation spoke of his position as one of the leading exponents and interpreters for the English-speaking public of the work and doctrines of Professor Freud, of his own position as a psychiatrist, psychologist, and physician of international distinction, and further thanked him for special services rendered to the University. Dr. Lewin then offered the Society's congratulations, which were heartily seconded by all members present.

The Educational Committee announced Dr. Sandor Rado's resignation from the German Society and his desire to resign as honorary member of the New York Society in order to become a regular active member. Rules were suspended and the secretary directed to cast a ballot for Dr. Rado's election. Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe was also elected to membership. Dr. Hyman S. Lippman has requested that his name be omitted from the New York Society because of his affiliation with the Chicago Society.

Scientific Session: 1. Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe: 'Notes on a Case of Conversation Hysteria'.

2. Dr. Robert Fliess: 'A Critical Note on Freud's Concept of Anxiety Neurosis'.

May 15, 1934. The Educational Committee recommended that Dr. Robert Fliess be transferred from membership of the German to the American Society.

Scientific Session. 1. Dr. Carl Binger: 'Graphic Representation of a Psycho-Analytic Situation'.

2. Dr. Samuel Atkin: 'Some Psychological Factors of Delinquency in an Hysteria'.

George E. Daniels,
Secretary.

PALESTINE PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1934

The Palestine Psycho-Analytical Society began its activities on *May* 5, 1934. The first meeting was held in Jerusalem. It took place on Professor Freud's birthday and was held in his honour. Dr. Eitingon gave an interesting address on the subject of our revered master and his work.

At the Business Meeting there was a discussion of various questions of organization and of the best way to co-ordinate the work of the members of this small Society, who are scattered throughout Palestine.

July 7, 1934. (At Tel-Aviv.) 1. Dr. Kiljan Blum (formerly of Berlin): 'A Case of Depression'.

2. *Business Meeting.* Discussion of the question of psycho-analytical training. Preparations for the Palestine Psycho-Analytical Institute are going forward and it is hoped that the Institute will open in the autumn.

Dr. Schalit,
Secretary.

SWISS PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1934

April 21, 1934. Dr. med. H. Christoffel (Basle) : ' Enuresis '.

Business Meeting. Dr. Bally was elected to membership, transferred from the Berlin Society.

June 2, 1934. 1. Pfarrer Dr. Pfister (Zürich) : ' The Cure of Souls in the New Testament and Psycho-Analytic Therapy '. (Discussion postponed.)

2. Dr. med. Groddeck (Baden-Baden, guest of the Society) : ' The Psycho-Analytical Interpretation of the Experimental Psychology of Perception '.

June 23, 1934. 1. Tribute to the late Dr. Groddeck.

2. The Congratulations of the Society were offered to Pfarrer Dr. phil. and theol. O. Pfister, upon whom the University of Geneva recently conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Theology.

3. Discussion of Dr. Pfister's paper of June 2.

Hans Zulliger,
Secretary.

VIENNA PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1934

January 10, 1934. Dr. Erwin Stengel : ' Contributions to the Pathology of the Ego in Cases of Cerebral Disease '.

January 24, 1934. Dr. Helene Deutsch : ' The Psychological Type : *" As if "* '.

February 7, 1934. Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld : ' Hunger and Aggression '.

March 7, 1934. 1. *Business Meeting : Election of Members :* Dr. Erwin Stengel and Frau Dorothy Tiffany Burlingham.

2. Short Communications and Reviews : (*a*) Dr. Heinz Hartmann : ' Psycho-Analytical aspects of research on the subject of twins '.

(*b*) Dr. Ludwig Eidelberg : ' A type of degraded love-object-choice in men '.

(*c*) Dr. Grete Bibring-Lehner : ' An oral component in male inversion '.

March 21, 1934. Short Communications and Reviews :

(*a*) Dr. Ernst Kris : ' Remarks on mythology, literature, and magic '.

(*b*) Dr. Richard Sterba : ' Notes on three film-actors '.

(*c*) Dr. M. Katan (guest of the Society) : ' A Dutch term of abuse '.

(*d*) Dr. Eduard Hitschmann : ' Coué's technique for inducing sleep '.

Second Quarter, 1934

April 11, 1934. Dr. Paul Federn : ' The Pathogenic Nature of the Anxiety-affect '.

April 25, 1934. Lt.-Col. C. D. Daly (Woodstock. Guest of the Society) : ' Mother-Goddesses '.

*

May 9, 1934. Dr. Edmund Bergler : ' The Psychology of Hypocrisy '.

May 23, 1934. Dr. Edward Bibring : ' The Craving for Contact, Introjection and Self-feeling '.

June 6, 1934. Dr. Richard Sterba and Dr. Otto Sperling : Review of W. Reich's : *Charakteranalyse*.

June 20, 1934. M. Katan (Vlaardingen. Guest of the Society) : ' A Contribution to the Theory of the Attempt at Self-cure in Schizophrenia '.

Dr. R. H. Jokl,
Secretary.

* * * * *

In the Bulletin (p. 383) which was published in THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. XV., Parts 2–3, there appeared a communication entitled ' The Psycho-Analytical Movement ' which the Secretary of the Vienna Society incorrectly added to the Quarterly Report. Readers are kindly requested to erase this passage, especially since the statement made there—that the German Psycho-Analytical Society had been dissolved and had been reconstituted in January—was erroneous. The truth is that no interruption had taken place in the actvity of the German Society.

Paul Federn,
Vienna.

WASHINGTON-BALTIMORE PSYCHO-ANALYTIC SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1934

April 14, 1934. Dr. Edward J. Kempf : ' The Primacy of Self-Love '.

May 12, 1934. Dr. Ross McClure Chapman : ' Psycho-Analysis in Psychiatric Hospitals '.

May 29, 1934. 1. Dr. Bernard S. Robbins : ' The Escape into Reality : a clinical note on spontaneous social Recovery from Delusion '.

2. Dr. Harold Lasswell (Chicago. Guest of the Society) : ' Verbal Reference and Physiological Changes in the Psycho-Analytic Situation : Preliminary Communication '.

3. Dr. Joseph O. Chassel : ' Failures in Sublimation '.

4. Dr. Edward Sapir (New Haven. Guest of the Society) : ' How can Psycho-Analysis help the Anthropologist ? '

Election of Honorary Member : Dr. William A. White.

Bernard S. Robbins,
Secretary and Treasurer.

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2. Correspondence relating to translations should be addressed to the Translation Editor, Mrs. Joan Riviere, 3 Stanhope Terrace, Lancaster Gate, London, W. 2.

3. Manuscripts should be type-written, and a copy should always be retained by the author.

4. Authors will understand that translations of their articles may be published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* or *Imago* if thought suitable.

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